

A COMPLETE
HISTORY
Of the LATE
REVOLUTION,
FROM

The first Rise of it to this present Time.

In Three Parts.

S H E W I N G

- I. The Growth of Popery in *England*, under the Reign of the late King *CHARLES*; By his Connivence, *French* Intrigues, &c.
- II. Our Imminent Ruin in his Popish Successor King *JAMES* his Reign; By his Invading of our Laws, Religion, and Liberties. With a Particular and Impartial Narrative of the fictitious *Great* *Belly*.
- III. Our Wonderful and Happy Deliverance, by the *PRINCE* of *ORANGE*, Our present King's famous Expedition over into *England*. With an Account of the late King *James's* Desertion and Abdication, of Their Majesties happy Succession to the Throne of *Great Britain*, and of Their prosperous Reign hitherto, by Defeating the *Jacobites* dark Plots in *England*, by Suppressing their open Rebellion in *Scotland*, and by the Total Reduction of *Ireland*.

To Which is Added

A Postscript, by way of Seasonable Advice to
the *Jacobite* Party.

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A COMPLETE

HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION

The full history of the American Revolution

IN THREE VOLUMES

Vol. I. The first part of the Revolution, from the first settlement of the colonies to the year 1763.

Vol. II. The second part of the Revolution, from the year 1763 to the year 1781.

Vol. III. The third part of the Revolution, from the year 1781 to the year 1789.

Vol. IV. The fourth part of the Revolution, from the year 1789 to the year 1791.

Vol. V. The fifth part of the Revolution, from the year 1791 to the year 1793.

Vol. VI. The sixth part of the Revolution, from the year 1793 to the year 1795.

Vol. VII. The seventh part of the Revolution, from the year 1795 to the year 1797.

Vol. VIII. The eighth part of the Revolution, from the year 1797 to the year 1799.

I

THE
HISTORY
Of the LATE
REVOLUTION.

PART I.

*Shewing the Growth of Popery in England, under the
Reign of the late King Charles.*

TO demonstrate the Growth of Popery in this Kingdom, as the first Occasion of all our late Distractions, I shall begin at the Head, and come up to the Original Cause.

All the World knows, that the Ruin of the Protestants, and the Inslaving all *Europe*, have been the two grand Designs of the Reign of *Lewis XIV*; the first influenced by an infused blind Zeal, and the last being the product of his own insatiable and boundless Ambition. To the first he was prompted by those Spiritual Engineers, the *Jesuits*, who ever made it their business to set the World in a Combustion. And the last he attempted, to please his own Humour, and gratifie his excessive Pride.

The Holy Cabal had resolv'd upon the Extirpation of the Protestant Heresie. And such has been the effect of their Enchanting Eloquence, and reputed Skill in Politicks, that they are in a manner become Companions for Princes and Crowned Heads of the Roman Communion.

B In

In point of Conscience they are their usual Directors, and their Decisions are to them as Laws and Oracles. 'Tis therefore no wonder that the *French King*, being inspirited by these Men, should follow their Directions. Whose Confessors being of that Order always indulged him in his Criminal Courses, with Assurances of Salvation, if he did but apply himself with Zeal and Fervency to so meritorious a Work as the Extinguishing the Protestant Heresie. This forsooth would make him the Favourite of Heaven, and an Immortal Prince on Earth.

Infatuated with these Delusions he struck in with the Society, subscribed to their Dictates, and resolved upon their Project. In short, he dispos'd all things to purchase Heaven with a Hellish Zeal, and to improve his Fame upon Earth with the infamous Character of a Tyrant and Persecutor. His Protestant Subjects, to whom he owed his Elevation on the Throne, he undermined during several years, and by degrees weakened their Party, till he thought fit at last to pull off the Mask, and to fall foul upon them.

Abroad he had his Agents to inspire other Princes with the same Unchristian Zeal, and put them upon the same Methods of Cruelty, for promoting of a Religion whose Principles chiefly tend to make the Clergy Great and the Laity Slaves. *Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and Piemont* not long since, have felt the fury of this Spirit of Persecution. And *England* by his means was like, but few years ago, to feel the same Calamity; so near it was to fall a Sacrifice to the ambitious Designs of Popery, and with its fall to carry the Ruin of all the Protestant Interest in *Europe*.

That the Design was laid in the Reign of King *Charles* is apparent by the Growth of Popery here, whilst he swayed the Scepter. And for this we may thank our unhappy Civil Wars in the Reign of King *Charles I.* when that good King being put to death by a prevailing Party, and the Royal Family dispersed thereupon into Popish Countries, the Princes of the Royal Blood were easily poisoned with Popish Insinuations, that the only Way for their Restauration, and to Reign Arbitrarily, was to imbrace, or at least to favour the Roman Religion.

Tho'

Tho' I am not fully satisfied, that King *Charles II.* was ever actually Reconciled to the Roman Church, (whatever has been reported to the contrary) but rather that he was too clear-sighted to think well of her Principles; yet it is plain, by the whole Series of his Reign, that he made his Government as easy and favourable to the Roman Party as his Circumstances would allow, and that he gave 'em all possible Incouragement. But, as he was a Prince naturally inclined to Clemency, and abhorrent from Cruelty; so this Proceeding of his was rather look'd upon as an Effect of his good Nature, than of any Design upon the Protestant Interest of these Kingdoms. If we reflect upon the Course of his Life during his Reign, it seems his Aim was to please all Parties, that he might enjoy himself, and Reign in Quietness. But still he kept to an outward Profession of the Reformed Religion, as by Law established, and from time to time soothed up his Parliaments with solemn Protestations of his faithfulness to their Religion and Liberties.

Such was the Posture of Affairs in his Reign, that tho' he would not himself bring in Popery downright, yet he made the way smooth for it. For, whilst he minded his Amours more than the Government, the Thieves stole in, and grew upon us. Who being countenanced by his Brother the Duke of *Tork*, a Prince more daring and gone over to the Roman Church, began now to build all their Hopes upon him.

The King having no Issue by the Queen, and in process of time no hopes of any by her, the Duke remained the Heir apparent, and was consequently lookt upon as the Rising Sun. On whom His Majesty, too much given to Ease and Pleasure, disburdened himself of the active and troublesome part of the Government, which he left in a great measure to his Care. Thus his *R. H.* had a fair Opportunity to gratifie the *Romans* Party, and improve their Interest here, whilst the King connived at it. And, tho' he did not openly profess himself a Papist, his forsaking at last the Church of *England* wherein he was bred and born, and espousing so much as he did the Popish Interest, sufficiently evidenced his being of that Communion.

The King being a Prince bigotted to no Religion, but linked to the *French* Interest, gave him a great Latitude. And this was so far improv'd by the *French* King, that in the In-

interview which happened at *Dover Anno 1670* between our King, his Brother, and their Sister the Dutchess of *Orleans*, a Treaty was there managed by the Dutchess between both Kings, whereby the *French King* did promise King *Charles* to Subject his Parliament to him, and to Establish the Roman Religion in his Kingdom. In order to which the *Hollanders* must first be brought down, and both Kings joyn in Arms to make them incapable of being any longer a Support or Refuge for Protestants. *Delenda est Carthago.*

In short, *Anno 72*, the Storm broke out upon *Holland*, that Nest of Hereticks. And in two Campaigns we saw that Potent State, at that time our only Rival upon the Ocean, brought by the *French King's* Land Forces to the last Extremity; whilst we harassed them at Sea, and fought them, but without any great Advantage on our side. We had indeed a *French Squadron* in conjunction with our Fleet, but their business (it seems) was not to fight. All their Care was to be Spectators of our Fights at a convenient distance, and to see if the *English* did their Duty well. In the mean time they learnt the Art of our Sea-fights, and had the satisfaction to see these two Protestant Nations thus weaken one another, which was the *French King's* chief Aim.

This Conduct of the *French* at Sea, with the amazing Progress of their Arms by Land, happened to open our Eyes. For still then we were possessed of the Justice of the War on our side, considering the many Provocations of the States, as they were mustered in the King's Declaration. We could not imagine, that King *Charles* had any other Design than to curb their Pride, and lessen their Power at Sea, for the benefit of our Trade and Navigation; in order to which a little help, tho' from *France*, was not thought amiss. The *Dover-Treaty* lay then under the *Rose*, and we knew not what Snake lay in the Grass.

The King, wanting Money to prosecute the War, convened his Parliament. The Danger we were in by the apparent Ruin of a Neighbouring State of the same Religion with us, and now become (with our help) a Prey to the *French*, came soon under Debate. The Parliament voted a Peace with the States. And the King, finding no Money was to be had without it, yielded to their Desire, and made a separate Peace. This

startled

startled King *Lewis*; who from this very time concluded, that King *Charles* was not to be relyed on for the execution of that grand Religious Design he had been so long big withal. And, to be even with him for his Desertion in this War, he caused not long after the *Dover* Treaty to be published with his Privilege, by the Abbot *Primi*, in his History of the War with *Holland*; whereby he chiefly designed to make the King odious to his People.

The Duke of *York* upon this was look'd upon as the fitter Person for the Project in hand, who wanting neither Zeal nor Ambition, was a Vessel altogether prepared and moulded for his purpose. Whereas King *Charles* was like the Church of *Laodicea*, neither Cold nor Hot, and therefore to be spued out.

The Dutchess of *Orleans*, or rather the French King by her means, had sent to King *Charles* a French Curtain Solicitor, but a true Member of the Holy Church, as a Pledge (or Memorandum) of the *Dover* Treaty. Who, for her close and faithful Commerce with the King, was made *D. of P.*

The same Care he took of his *R. H.* to keep him in a right Cue, and steady to his Principles; but by way of Marriage. So that he was both Procurer, and Match-maker. The Match was *Mary* the late Duke of *Modena's* Daughter, an *Italian* Princess of no great Fortune, but of an Ancient Family, and (which was most to the purpose) a Princess intirely devoted to the present Interest.

The Duke had been three Years and a half a Widower. And, as the Case stood, there was a Necessity for his *R. H.* to venture on a second Match, that the Succession to the Crown might be Intailed either by Nature or Art to an Heir Male. The Lady *Mary* and the Lady *Ann*, his two Daughters by *Ann* his first Wife, were bred and born Protestants, and such were not for the present Turn.

King *Charles*, who was sensible how unacceptable this Match was to his People, and fearing some ill Consequences of it upon himself, resolved however to dispose of his Royal Nieces, and to Marry them to Protestant Princes, to allay the Jealousies and Fears from this New Match. Which indeed were something the less, for the then common Opinion, That His Royal Highness was too much Frenchified to get

get any durable Issue. So the Lady *Mary* was given in Marriage to the Prince of *Orange*, Anno 1677; and the Lady *Ann* to Prince *George* of *Denmark*, in the Year 1683.

But, few days after the Lady *MARY* was married to the Prince of *ORANGE*, the Dutchess of *TORK* was brought to bed of a Son, created Duke of *Cambridge*; who dying in four or five days, the *Popish Faction* had but a short Joy of it.

In the mean time his R. H. being the next Heir to the Crown, and the *Papists* resolved not to lose this Opportunity, turned every Stone to make their Party good, by *Plotting* and *Conspiring* even with Authority against the Government. The KING was healthful, and of a strong constitution, but wanted zeal or boldness to secure their Interest. The DUKE was zealous and bold, but wanted a sound Body. In short, according to all humane probability, the KING by the strength of Nature was the most likely to live.

These Considerations were like enough to give Birth to that famous *Conspiracy*, which upon its breaking out made so great a Noise in the World, I mean the *Popish Plot*. And, tho I cannot believe it in all its Branches, as made out by Dr. *Oates*, yet in the main 'tis more than probable, that there was a Plot on foot against the Government.

Mr. *Coleman*, the Dukes Secretary's, intercepted Letters, are a sufficient Proof of this; who kept, as appears by those Letters, a close Correspondence with Father *La Chaise* (the French King's Confessor) for the *Extirpating the Protestant Religion in these Kingdoms*, under the name of the *Northern Heresy*. That to *Extirpate* imports a violent Act, is a thing undeniable. So that the *Roman Religion* was not to come in by fair means, or by way of persuasion, but by force and violence. And 'tis like a great deal more of that wicked Design had appeared, if amongst *Coleman's* latest Letters for two years and a half that were brought to *White-Hall*, many had not been there suppressed, and kept from the sight of the *Parliament*. Yet, upon his Trial, he openly avowed the Design of *Subverting the Protestant Religion*, wherein he owned himself a subordinate Minister.

This Plot kept for a while the *Papists* under Hatchets, and forced the Duke himself (upon the King's Command) to withdraw for some time out of the Kingdom; so that he went first

to *Flanders*, and afterwards to *Scotland*. Mean while the House of Commons, who lookt upon him as the great Abettor and Supporter of the *Popish Interest*, went so far as to attempt his *Exclusion* from the Crown. But, as vigorously as it was carried on in the *House of Commons*, it was quashed in the *House of Lords* by the *Church of England Party*, which stood stily for the Succession.

The Tide now began to turn, and the *Popish Party* to have a fair Prospect. The Duke was called home; and His Majesty disbanded *Parliament* after *Parliament*, in hopes to get a healing one. But, failing thereof, he published a plausible Declaration touching the Causes that moved him to Dissolve the two last Parliaments. Which, being read in all Churches and Chappels, did very much strengthen the Court Party, and turned the Hearts of many People against the late Proceedings of the *House of Commons*, as having over-shot the Mark.

Which *House*, consisting most of *Dissenters*, gave a Jealousy to the *House of Lords*, and indeed to all the *Church-Party*, that under colour of rooting out *Popery*, they design'd nothing less than the Ruin of the Church, and so to kill two Birds with one Stone. The *Dissenters* on the other side, seeing the *Church Party* so stiff for the Dukes Right to the Succession, tho upon the Grounds of Justice and Equity, fail'd not to clamour against them as Abettors of *Popery*, and *Papists* in Masquerade. In short, the Fend grew so great between both Parties, row distinguished by the Nicknames of *TORIES* and *WHIGS*, that, had not his Majesty (who now bestirred himself in these difficult Times) prevented it by his great Care and Wisdom, it had certainly broke out into a Flame.

In the mean time these unhappy Differences gave fair play to the *Papists*, who know best how to fish in troubled Waters. The *Popish Plot* grew now out of date, and lost much of its Credit. Then up starts another, called the *Presbyterian Plot*, which proved fatal to several Persons of Quality, and others of a lower Rank. The King, now exasperated in the highest degree against the *Dissenting Party*, ordered the *Penal Laws* to be put in execution, which made the Breach so much the wider betwixt Them and the *Church Party*. And, whilst the poor *Dissenters* lay under the lash, an offici-

ous sort of *Church of England* Ministers made it their business to preach the stupid Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, with as much Zeal and Fervency as if there had been no Salvation without it. Which some were hired for with a Promise of Church-Preferment, whilst others did it meerly to shew their Parts; but all wonderfully to the purpose of the *Roman Catholick Party*, and to help forward the Designs of the next Reign. The City of *London*, which had strongly appeared against the *Duke's* Interest, was now called to an Account, and a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (a dreadful piece of Latin, before which no Reason could stand) issued out against them, to take away their Charter; which was accordingly done. Then other Corporations were prevailed upon fairly to surrender their *Charters*, in expectation of new ones, whereby all their Magistrates and Officers were dependant upon the King's Will. And, by the *Duke's* Interest, many false *Protestants* were got into Places of Trust, who upon the push would be ready to join with the *Papists*, and lend them their helping hands.

Thus all Things were finely prepared against his Majesties *Exit*, to make room for his Brother. And, which is observable, at the very time when the King was resolv'd to sift out some Miscarriages, and much inclined to call a new Parliament, an odd kind of *Fit* seiz'd upon him, which in four days time bereav'd him of his Life and Crown.

Thus died King *Charles*, a Prince who was neither a sound *Papist*, nor a zealous *Protestant*. Admired for his great Sagacity, beloved for his Clemency, and the fittest Prince in the World to Reign, had not his over-Indulgence to Ease and Pleasures made him averse from Business. In which unhappy Temper he was too much followed by his Subjects of both Sexes.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
Of the L A T E
R E V O L U T I O N.

P A R T II.

*Shewing Our Imminent Ruin in the Reign of the
late King James; With an Account of the suppos'd
Great Belly.*

KING Charles being dead (the Lord knows how) some wept upon his Tomb for Joy, but most for Sorrow. The *Popish Party* were the most concerned in the first, and the *Protestants* (whatever he was) in the last. We were but threatned before with the *Danger* of a *Popish Succession*, now we had it. The *Papists* had a blessed (but doubtful) prospect of it, and now they were in possession.

To Secure which, the Blood of the deceased King was hardly chilled in his Veins, when his next Successor *James Duke of York* was Proclaimed King at *White-hall* and in the City, in great haste, that no Man might pretend Ignorance. So that King *Charles* was scarce gone off the Stage, when his Brother, to play the last Act, enters, and ascends the Throne.

No *Prince* more courteous, more obliging, or more promising at first, than he was to his new Subjects, but particularly

to the *Church of England* Party. He came in like a *Lamb*, but reigned like a *Lion*, and followed in all things the Steps of King *Lewis*. Nor but that he had innate Vertues of his own, but none that could stand proof against the precipitate Suggestions of the *Roman Clergy*, and the irresistible Influence of those hot-brain'd States-men the *Jesuites*.

So great was the Opinion of his Justice and Valour, when Duke of *York*, that many *Protestants* durst rely upon his Justice, and most promised themselves great Matters from his Valour. Especially when, upon his Accession to the Crown, he declared to his Council, that he would protect and favour the *Church of England*, for her unshaken Loyalty; and to his Parliament, that he would carry the Glory of *England* beyond all his Predecessors.

Upon these Assurances he allayed for some time the Fears of his Protestant Subjects, but especially the *Church of England*; which thereupon Addressed him from all Parts of the Kingdom, as their *Tutelar Angel*. In short, so great on a sudden were the Hopes of this King, that *Edward III.* and *Henry V.* the most glorious Monarchs of *England*, were like upon his Account to be hissed out of our *English Chronicles*.

But it was not long before he pulled off the Mask. And first, to gratifie the *Roman Catholick* Party, he declar'd himself of their Communion, and made open Profession of it. Which some *Protestants* lookt upon as a good Omen, and the product of a generous Soul above Dissimulation; whilst others more clear-sighted lookt upon it as an effect of a wilful Nature, that thought it needless to Dissemble, now the Power was in his own hands.

To Establish his Religion here was, I confess, a difficult Task; considering how small the *Popish Party* was, the *Protestants* then (by the best Computation) being reckon'd 200 to one. But the Advantage of a Crown is a great Bait, and has a mighty Influence. The Hopes of worldly Preferment, and the Dread of Majesty, would in all probability draw in a great Party. Besides what was expected, by way of Persuasion, from the Industry and Activity of *Popish Emissaries*. Nor do I doubt, but the King promised himself great Matters from the *Church of England* Party, which having ventured

red so much to secure his Succession, would not (as he thought) recoil, and leave him now in the lurch, who so lately had made unto them new Protestations of his particular Favour and Protection. The *Dissenters* were then under the lash of the Law, and not without some apprehension of the *French*. Thus, with this prospect of Things, the King fell presently to work, by feeling first under-hand the Pulse of *Men* in Credit and Authority amongst his Protestant Subjects.

But, whilst he was taken up with these gentle Motions, a Storm was raised all of a sudden in *Scotland*, by the late Earl of *Argile*; and at the same time another in the West of *England*, by the late Duke of *Monmouth*. Who both appeared in Arms with their Parties in their several Stations; but so unsuccessfully, that, after the loss of many Mens Lives in the Field, they lost their own upon the Scaffold. These two Rebellions, which startled so much the *Papish* Party, till they saw the Issue of it, gave them a great Advantage, and raised their Expectations of Success to an Infallibility. The King had now a great Army on foot. And tho the Vork was done for which the same was raised, yet he would not part with it; but kept it still on foot, contrary to Law, for his further Designs, and to keep the Nation in aw.

For the Preservation of our Laws, Religion, and Liberties, it was provided by the Wisdom of our Parliaments, upon the Growth of *Popery* in the late King's Reign, That all Persons appointed to bear any Office in Church or State should declare themselves to be not *Papists*, but *Protestants*, by taking the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and the *Test*, and receive thereupon the *Sacrament* according to the *Church of England*. But, upon the Raising of the foresaid Army, the King was pleased to protect against those Laws many *Papish Officers* that served in the Army, without taking the Oaths. And in his Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 9th of November, 1685, he told the Parliament in plain words, That, though the said Officers were not Qualified according to the late Tests for their Employments, yet he would neither expose them to Disgrace, nor himself to the Want of them. And, tho the Parliament did highly except against it, as an open Violation of those Laws which were our main Bulwark against *Popery*, yet his Maie-

ity would by no means recede from his Word. A Debate was held to dispenſe thoſe Unqualified Officers then actually in Service with the Penalty of the Law, provided no more were admitted. But this would not ſerve the King's turn. Who, to prevent any further Heats about it, prorogued the Parliament till Feb. 10 following; and ſo put it off by further Prorogations, till it was at laſt Diſſolved.

Mean while, he made it his buſineſs to New-model his dearly beloved Army, now conſecrated to more pious Uſes, and kept on foot to accompliſh the great Work of reſtoring Popery. Both Officers and Soldiers were Reformed, and ſuch of both ſorts put in as would encourage and promote the Deſign.

To loſe no Time, whole Shoals of *Prieſts* and *Jefuits*, with Multitudes of *Lay-Papiſts*, came over daily from *France*, and other *Parts*, as often as the Wind would permit; ſome to Convert us, and others to Cut our Throats. The firſt, like the *Phariſees*, came over by Sea and Land to make *Proſelytes*; and liked *England* ſo well, that they ſtuck to it like *Burr*. Whiſt poor *Lapland*, and other wretched Countries, are left to their Temporal and Spiritual Darkneſs, ſeldom viſited by thoſe Lights of the *Roman Church*. And firſt, to take off from our Minds the frightful Notions we had of *Popery*, they laid aſide the old way of *Controverſies* from *Scripture*, *Tradition*, and *Reason*; and ſo new-vamped their *Roman Tenets*, after the Biſhop of *Meaux* late invented Dreſs, that it was hard to diſcern at firſt view the *Popiſh* from the *Proteſtant Religion*; Such was their Reſemblance, that it was *Aker Ego*. But the Cheat was quickly found out, and hiſſed at here, by all Men of *Reason* and *Underſtanding*. Then was held a Diſputation at *White hall* in the King's Preſence, wherein his Party came off ſo ſhamefully, that his Maſteſty was fain to excuſe their Weakneſs, by ſaying, *That a good Cauſe might be baffled*.

Yet, notwithstanding theſe Repulſes, the *Popiſh Emiſſaries* having now (contrary to Law) the liberty of the *Preſs*, ply'd it hard to get *Proſelytes*, but ſtill with little Succeſs. Providence had ſo ordered it, that the *Church of England* was never ſtocked with ſo many Sound, Pious, and Learned Di-

vines

vines as we had in this Juncture. So that this Spiritual War, begun by *Priests* and *Jesuits*, ended to their Confusion. The *Church of England* bore the brunt of it all, and the *Dissenters* would not meddle, for fear of giving Offence; nor was there any need of it.

The King found by this time how little was to be expected from *Roman Emiffaries*, and that Compulsion at last must do the Work. *France* shewed him the Way, where the holy Design was now ripe for Execution, without any fear of a Check from *England*. For now King *Lewis* fairly pulled off the Mask, and by his Edicts *Anno 1685.* told the World in plain terms, that his Design of Reconciling his *Protestant Subjects* to the *Holy Church* was from his Coming to the Crown, that all his former Edicts in their behalf, his Acknowledging and Registring in Parliament their great Services to the Crown, and his Advancement of many of them to the highest Dignities Civil and Military, were but so many Blinds to cover his Design (for which he calls God to witness) to abolish their Religion by degrees. And, to shew what Opinion he had of *Protestants*, he declared them Incapable to claim the benefit of *Treaties, Promises, or Oaths*, made to them by the *Papists*.

According to these his *Unchristian Principles*, he broke the sacred Ties of *Religious Oaths*, by Revoking his *Protestant Subjects* grand Charter of *Priviledges*, the famous Edict of *Nantes*, which from its very Foundation was counted Irrevocable; and by forcing his Religion upon them, through the miraculous Virtue of his *Apostolick Dragoons*. Who ('tis true) had no Commission to take away their Lives, but all the Comforts thereof, by Want and barbarous Usage, Spoiling and Plundering, dark Prisons and loathsome Dungeons, by parting the Husband and Wife, and robbing Parents of their dearest Children.

But, lest the *VWorld* should think, that the *French King's* Zeal was confined within the Bounds of his Dominions, he lost no Opportunity to make it known, that his Design was against the whole Body of *Protestants*, and first against the *English*, whose Conversion would much facilitate that of other *Protestant Nations*. This appears by that noted Speech made to him at *Versailles* in the Year 1685. by a *French Bishop*, in the

the Name of the whole Clergy of *France*. VVherein the Bishop, having magnified the King for his Zeal in Suppressing the *Protestant Religion* in his Kingdom, tells him, that *England* offered to his Majesty one of the most glorious Occasions that he could wish for, and that his *British* Majesty wanted nothing but his Protection and the Support of his Arms to settle the *Catholick Religion* in his Dominions. This Speech was published by the *French King's* Authority, and the Translation of it suffered to come over freely into *England*. VVhich lookt something odd, and beneath a King of *England*, to be thus expos'd to the VVorld as a Prince to come under the Protection of a King of *France*; over whose Kings, and Kingdom, his Ancestors had so often Triumphed. But nothing (it seems) was to be thought Inglorious, that might serve the *Papish Design* of Rooting out the *Protestant Religion*.

Such was King *James* his Zeal for *Mother Church*, that (according to *Father Peter's* Relation) his Majesty told him in his Chamber, That he had rather Reign but one Year to an end, tho in Troubles, and die with the Conversion of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, than to Reign prosperously 30 years, and leave them in *Herefy*, as he found them at his Accession to the Crown. A Zeal in some sense like what of *Moses*; who, to save the People under his Government, was willing to be blotted out of the *Book of Life*.

By this Saying, and his Proceedings, with the *French King's* Assistance, we may guess what he intended for us. To convert us, he went about to subvert the Laws; and, to make us good Christians after his own Way, he made his Will the measure of his Government, without any regard to his Oaths and Promises, to Justice or Equity.

However, to colour what he did with some shew of Justice, he set up a new Claim, a Thing called the *Dispensing Power*, unknown to former Ages, and now suddenly started up as a Branch forsooth of the King's Prerogative. By which means he threw aside those two great Stumbling-Blocks, the Penal Laws & the Tests, being all our legal Securities for the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties; and so shook the very Foundation thereof, that we had no Security left against his Will and Pleasure.

'Tis not denyed, that, in the Cases of Treason and Felony, the King of *England* may, by vertue of his Prerogative, Pardon the Punishment that a Transgressor has incurred. But it cannot be with any colour of Reason inferred from thence, that the King can intirely suspend the Execution of those Laws relating to Treason or Felony; unless it is pretended, that he is Cloathed with a Despotick and Arbitrary Power. And, as no Laws can be made but by the joint Concurrence of King and Parliament; so likewise Laws so Enacted, which secure the publick Peace and safety of the Nation, and the Lives and Liberties of every Subject in it, cannot be Repealed or Suspend- ed but by the same Authority.

'Tis true, the Judges declared this *Dispensing Power* to be a Right belonging to the Crown. But, before that pernicious Judgment could be obtained, first the Opinion of the Judges was privately examined. Such of them as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence were turned out, and others substituted, till by the Changes which were made in the Courts of Judicature that Judgment was at last obtained, to give some Credit to the Cause. And, amongst those that were raised to these Trusts, some were professed Papists, and consequently Incapable of all such Employments. However it does not appear, how it is in the Power of the Twelve Judges to offer up the Laws, Rights, and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be disposed of by Him at his Will and Pleasure.

'Twas by vertue of this *Imaginary Power*, which made the King break loose upon the Laws and govern by his Will, that He imposed upon his Subjects such Magistrates as he thought fittest for his turn, some true Papists, and others false Protestants, such as would go a great way (if not through-stitch) to serve his Popish Designs. And, tho' they were admitted without taking the Oaths in that Case provided, and consequently no lawful Magistrates; yet all were threatned, vexed, and prosecuted, who durst but say, that they had no lawful Authority.

By Virtue of the same *Power*, the Kingdoms Military Defence was put into such Hands as by many express Laws were Incapable of them. Which justly gave the Protestants sad Apprehensions

hensions of imminent Danger, seeing themselves put into the Power of Men that publicly professed to be in Union and Communion with the Church of *Rome*, declaring themselves to be mortal Enemies to Protestants, and bound upon their Salvation to seek their Ruin and Destruction, if they persisted in their Religion. Thus an Army of Papists and Mercenaries was maintained and dispersed through the Kingdom in full Peace, to the great disquiet and terrour of the Protestants. Who, contrary to the Ancient Laws of the Kingdom, and the express Words of the late Statutes, were constrained to receive those Souldiers into their Houses; whereby they were deprived of their Peace and Security at home, of a free Converse abroad, and of the Advantages they might make otherwise in their Ways of living.

The Church of *England* was by this time grown out of Favour with the King, for her Steadiness to the Laws, and strong Zeal against Popery. And who should now grow into favour with his Majesty, at least in outward appearance, but the Dissenting Party, the Object of his Resentment and Indignation, when he came to the Crown? The King knew how to turn the stream of his Kindness, and to shift from one Side to another, that losing one Party he might make sure of another. 'Tis true, some Leaders amongst the Dissenters made an advantage of this Turn, for their private Interest; but the thinking Part of them, who knew where the Snake lay, did not build much upon it. Nor could the King expect much from them, considering how lame and falsify'd were most of the Addresses His Majesty receiv'd from that Party.

The King, to awe the Church, erected a Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Affairs, whose Commission was to proceed with a *Nonobstante*, that is, without and against the Rules of our Laws. And; to please the *Dissenters*, He put out a Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience* to all sorts of Persuasions; with a secret Intent, that none should have it at last but the Papists.

The First was by Commission, so far from any Colour of Law, that it was against most express Laws to the Contrary; and the extent of the Commission was, to take Cognizance and Direction

rection of all Ecclesiastical Matters. The Illegality and Incompetency whereof was so notoriously known, and the Design of it against our Religion so plain, that the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* (being one in the Commission) refused to sit or concur in it. For the chief Design of this Court was to Raise none to any Church Dignities but such as had no Zeal for the Protestant Religion, who cloaked their Unconcernedness for it with the specious Pretence of Moderation; and to oppress such of the Clergy as were of eminent Learning, Vertue, and Piety. In this Commission was a Noble Peer who made publick Profession of the Popish Religion, and who at the time of his first professing it declared, that for a great while before he had believed that to be the only true Religion.

'Twas by virtue of this Illegal Commission, that the Lord Bishop of *London* was Suspended, only because he refused to obey an Order sent him to suspend Dr. *Sharp*, then Rector of *S. Giles*, without so much as Citing him before him to make his own Defence, or observing the common Forms of Process. By the same Court was Dr. *Hough*, President of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, turned out, tho' duly chosen by the Fellows of the said College; and afterwards all the Fellows of the said College, only for refusing to chuse for their President a Person recommended to them by the Kings Evil Counsellors Instigation. Tho' the Right of a Free Election belonged undoubtedly to the said Fellows; and that it is expressly provided in *Magna Charta*, that no Man shall lose Life or Goods, but by the Law of the Land. More than that, the said College was wholly put into the hands of Papists; who by the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the College, are altogether Incapable of such Employments.

By the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, His Majesty Comanded the same to be Read in all Churches and Chappels; whereby he would have the Clergy to be his Cryers, to proclaim his pretended Power to Suspend at once the Force and Use of our Penal Laws, made for the Security of our Religion and Property. And, when the late Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and six other Bishops, offered His Majesty an humble Petition in Terms full of Respect, containing in short the Reasons why they could not Obey the Order sent them to appoint the Clergy to read the Declaration in their Churches,

the said Bishops were Committed to the Tower, and afterwards brought to a Tryal, whose Crime was only a due Regard to the Laws. They were Acquitted, and for that piece of Justice Judge *Holloway* and Judge *Powel* were Displaced. And, because their Acquittal had caused an universal Joy, some were brought into Trouble for their innocent Expressions of it.

Then came out an Order from the Lords Commissioners, requiring all the Chancellors and Arch-Deacons of *England* to return the Names of all such as had read the King's Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and of those that had not read it, whether they were injoined or not injoined to do it by their respective Bishops. And 'tis observable, that in the Bishoprick of *Durham* (the Bishop whereof was one of the Commissioners) near 200 Ministers were Suspended for not Reading the Declaration.

Hitherto the Court had carried on their Interest bare-fac'd, at least since the ill-tim'd Rebellion of *Monmouth* and *Argile*; and Dissimulation (unless it were to *Dissenters*) had no share in their Transactions. But, whilst the Church of *England* was under Persecution, it was thought convenient to Protect such of the *French* Refugees as ventured to fly hither from the now raging Persecution in *France*. Inasmuch that, notwithstanding King *James's* strict Friendship and Correspondence with the *French* King, His Majesty Protected them with his Favour, and Relieved them with his Royal Briefs. But the Reason of the Thing is plain. The Court of *France* were got over the Disssembling Part, and all Things there were ripe for Action. Whereas in *England* the Persecution of some was thought fit for a while to be Palliated by the Toleration of Others, though all equally design'd for Destruction.

The same however of this Indulgence to the *French* Protestants invited Multitudes of them hither, to feel the benefit of it in their distressed Condition. The Sight whereof stirred the Compassion of most People, even of Sober Papists; whilst the Plurality of them made it their business all over the Kingdom to stem our Charity, by crying down the Persecution. Which, as sam'd as it was all over *Europe* for the unparallel'd Cruelty of it, these Men had the Face to deny, representing the Poor Refugees as so many Cut-throats and Vagabonds, whom we must
be

be forsooth aware of. A base Inhumane Thing it was, thus to insult over the Oppressed, and to add so cruelly Persecution to Persecution. But this is true *Roman Zeal*.

Two Things did prompt them to it. First their just Apprehension, that this Spectacle would be a Caution for us to look to our selves, and stand upon our Gard. Secondly, That such an Addition of incensed Protestants to so great a Party as that they must struggle with, was not at all agreeable to their Interest. The Truth is, we ought to admire the singular Providence of God in our behalf, that this *French* Persecution should be so timed as to give us a seasonable Alarm to prevent the same here; that our Persecutors Precipitation and Folly should be so great as to open their wicked Designs so early, and to send us over so many Thousands of Witnesses, as it were to awaken us, and to let us see what we ought to look for, whenever their Bloody Religion should come to prevail among us. Whereas 'tis probable otherwise, that the good Nature of some, and the Weakness and Corruption of others, had put us, (to use Dr. *Burnet's* Words) to a more melancholy and troublesome After-game.

In the mean time Nothing was omitted to Incourage Popery upon all Accounts, tho' never so much against Law. New Popish Chappels and Mass-Houses were set up, New Popish Schools and Monasteries Erected, four Popish Provincial Bishops establish'd, Priests and Jesuits so Incouraged, that *England* swarmed with them as *Egypt* did of old with Frogs, Lice, and Locusts, the Privy Council made up of Popish Lords, and some Protestants not much better, the Jesuit Father *Petre* a Member thereof, and the chief Director of the Cabal Council, a Nuncio admitted, and a solemn Embassy sent to *Rome* in the person of the Earl of *Castlemain*. All this in open Defiance to the Laws.

Such was besides the Corruption and Depravation of Justice in the Courts of Judicature, that the Judges must either be biassed by the King's Will, or expect a *Quietus est*, as in the Case aforesaid of *Holloway* and *Powel*. The Juries commonly returned by secret Contrivances and illegal Nominations, being neither (as the Law Requires) of the most sufficient nor most indifferent of the nearest Neighbours to the Facts in question,

nor by sworn sheriffs; So that any Mans Life or Estate not well affected to the then Government was in great Jeopardy, if called into Question. Besides that, by putting the Administration of Justice into the hands of Papists, all Matters of Civil Justice were brought to great Uncertainties. Who being under an Incapacity by Law, there lay no obligation upon any Man to acknowledge or obey their Judgments, and all Sentences by them given were null and void of themselves.

Thus, in few years, the Popish Party being become Masters of the Affairs of the Church, of the Government of the Nation, and of the Course of Justice, subjected them all to a Despotick and Arbitrary Power; that by the Assistance of the Army they might be able to maintain and execute their wicked Designs, by establishing Popery and Slavery.

But, if our Case was desperate here, it was rather worse in Ireland. Where the whole Government was put into the hands of Papists, and all the Protestants there under a perpetual fear of a new Massacre, such as they fell under *Anno 1641*. Which made great Numbers of them leave that Kingdom, and abandon their Estates in it. As for Scotland, the King declared himself to be clothed with *Absolute Power*; and all his Subjects there bound to obey Him *without reserve*; and accordingly assumed an Arbitrary Power, both over the Religion and Laws of that Kingdom. Whereby it plainly appeared what we must look for in *England*, as soon as Matters were duly prepared here.

But, during these Transactions, the Popish Party grew Sensible, that the *Dispensing Power*, being raised but upon a weak Foundation, would quickly sink; and that they could not be safe, unless the Penal Laws and the Tests were abrogated by the Authority of a Parliament, or Something like it. The King therefore made it his business to get such a Parliament as would bring this to pass.

'Tis well known, that about four parts in five of the Members of the House of Commons are to be chosen by Cities and Boroughs. To destroy therefore their Customs, Priviledges, Charters, and Governments, and to substitute therein such Magistrates as would either ignorantly or corruptly serve the Kings Designs, Writs of *Quo Warranto* fell like Thunder upon those

those Corporations. Which were seconded by Instruments appointed to terrifie the Magistrates thereof with the King's severe Displeasure, if they dared to insist upon their legal Right, and contest with the King at Law. He had Agents appointed to fright them with the vast Charge they must be at, in case they would be so bold as to stand it out; to possess them, that it was to no purpose, since he was resolved to have their Charters at his Command; to tempt them with a Promise of New ones, if they would but Resign their Old into his hands; and to threaten them, that the Names of all that refused it must be returned to the Attorney General. Besides, that Judges were prepared to damn the Pleas of all such Cities and Towns as would stand upon their Right. Witness the Cities of *Oxford* and *Winchester*, and the Borough of *Tatnesi*, which were declared to be Dissolved at the King's Pleasure; whereby their respective Citizens and Burgesses were Disfranchised, and divested of all their ancient Customs, Freedoms, and Priviledges.

This terrified most Cities and Broughs into voluntary surrenders of their Charters; which brought them to that condition as to have no Magistrates or Officers but at the Kings Will, and during his Pleasure. But this Proceeding of the King seemed the less strange, it being but a Copy of what had been already done in the Reign of King *Charles*.

And, whereas the Election of Members of Parliament ought to be Free and Indifferent, without Pre-ingagement of the Electors, by Bribes, Promises, or Threats, infinite were the Tricks and Artifices used to get such a Parliament as would serve the King's turn. Yet none more busie than the King himself, in continual Attempts upon the personal Freedom and Indifferency of all the Electors for Parliaments throughout the Kingdom. Such were his Personal Solicitations in secret, to accept of such for their Deputies in Parliament as were fit for his Designs, that his *Closetting of Electors* was become a By-word amongst the People. Nor was it possible for Persons that held Offices and Imployments of Profit and Trust to continue in the same, but by their Concurrence therein with his Majesties Pleasure. Witness his second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, under the Date of *Apr. 7. 1693.* wherein he declared his Mind, that none ought to be Imployed under him in the Kingdom, but such as would contribute to chuse such Members of Parliament

asmight do their part to finish what he had begun ; That, in pursuance thereof, he had turned out by his Absolute Will many Civil and Military Officers ; And that he lookt upon all Refusers as neither good Christians, nor Lovers of their Countries Good.

To further this Design, the Lord Lieutenants were ordered by the King to Summon in his Name the Chief Officers and Gentlemen in their respective Counties, and to lay the Case before them, so as to flatter or terrify them out of the Use of their Freedom in Electing for Parliament. And Marks of the King's Displeasure were put upon those that resolved to keep their Freedom and Indifferency to Elect worthy and fit Deputies, according to their Judgments and Consciences.

Another sort of Men were Commissionated to the same purpose, Known by the Name of *Regulators*. Amongst which several Anabaptist Preachers were employed, with good Weekly Allowances ; who were sent all over *England*, to delude People by Caresses or Threats into a fatal Compliance with the King.

By which Illegal Practices it appears how eager the Court was to introduce the *Roman* Religion and Laws, by endeavouring to free the Papists and Popish Emissaries from the Punishments of our Penal Laws against such manifest Attempts upon the Freedom, Properties, and Rights of the Realm. Which tended to nothing less than, First, to subject the Laws of the Realm, and consequently the very Rights of the Crown to the Canons of the Church of *Rome*, which Rights our ancient English Papists before the Reformation always indeavoured to maintain against the Inchoachments of the Papal See. Secondly, To declare all the Power of Magistracy in Protestants hands to be unlawful, and all Right and Title to their Estates forfeited (by their being Protestants) to the Papists. Thirdly, To own and justify all Dispensations from *Rome*, with our Obedience to all such Laws of the Realm as should be thought derogatory to the Popes Interest or Authority. And, Fourthly, to hold Communion with the Church of *Rome*, the *French*, and all Foreign *Papists*, tho' professed Enemies to the Religion and Power of the Protestants, so as to contrive with them the Suppressing or Extirpating of them out of the Realm.

Thus

Thus the Ax was laid to the Roor, and the Train laid to blow up our Laws, Religion, and Liberties. Which was Provocation enough for a Free-People, that have a share in the Legislative Power, to stand up for their Rights and Privileges thus invaded, and to oppose the Exorbitance and Abuses of an Executive Power, which shook the very Foundation of this ancient Monarchy. Yet all was hush, and these Things born with extraordinary Patience, in hopes of a Redress upon the next Succession, whilst the Princess of *Orange* (now our gracious Queen) was the Heiress apparent.

But, to cut off at once these only remaining Hopes, who should be now with Child but the Queen, after she had been Childless several Years, and very much decayed and weakened with Sickness? Which unexpected Pregnancy some Papists attributed to the Kings Progress to St. *Winifred's Wells*, others to the *Bath*, but most to the Lady of *Loretto*, who for the sake of a fine Present made forsooth made to her by the Queens Mother (the Dutchess of *Modena*) helped her to conceive a Son. A Son it must be by all means, for nothing would serve their turn but a Prince of *Wales*. And, tho it proved but a Daughter, yet most Priests were of Opinion, that it would set aside the Princess of *Orange's* Right to the Succession; for which they had no better Argument, than that a Daughter born after the King came to the Crown ought to succeed before a Daughter born before he came to it. Which argued their Ignorance.

I grant, without reflecting in the least upon the King, That this pretended Conception, to be real, must be done by a Miracle. The Queen as is before hinted, had laboured a long time under great Infirmities; and was so far from giving Life to another, that with much ado she kept her self alive. Nothing therefore but a Miracle could do that which her weak Condition made her incapable of.

But, upon a strict Inquiry into those various Circumstances that attend a Woman with Child, and the Want of them in the Queen, 'tis more than probable it was a meer Fiction, and a Design on Foot to cut off the Princess of *Orange* from her Right to the Succession. And 'tis observable, that, some
time :

time before the Report of this unexpected and miraculous Pregnancy of the Queen, the Prince and Princess of *Orange* had been very much pressed in the King's Name, to declare themselves for the Abolishing the Penal Laws and the Tests. Which his Majesty not being able to gain upon them, he was heard to say with much anger, that He would trouble himself no more with them, but they should Repent it.

Soon after this, the Rumor of the Queen's Conception was spread abroad with great Industry; but believed by none but Papists, or Persons Popishly affected. For amongst others it became a Matter of Laughter and Derision, and a Subject for Poets Lampoons; which grew so common, that *White-hall* it self was full of them.

But the Papists, who lookt upon it as a certain Way to procure their Settlement here, triumphed nevertheless. And the Truth is, this was the best VVay they could find to lessen the growing Reputation and Power of Their Highnesses, to weaken their Interest and that of the whole Body of Protestants; to incourage the *French* King in the Prosecution of his cruel Designs against them, to strengthen the *English* Papists and make our Corrupt and Time-serving Protestants fall in with their Party, and lastly to possess many weak Dissenters that their Liberty of Conscience must of necessity be fixt in a Popish Succession. The King therefore, to give the greater Credit to this pretended Conception, ordered a Day of Thanksgiving for it, with solemn Prayers to be offered unto God, for the Preservation of the Queen and Infant. Though he knew well enough that few People besides his own Party gave any credit to it.

To come now to the usual Circumstances that attend a Conception, the first natural Sign is the Stopping the Monthly Courses. By the King's Speech in Council, it seems Their Majesties had both thought fit to publish her Conception to have been at the Time of the Present made to the Ladies Image at *Loretto*, upon his Return to the Queen at *Bath*. Now 'tis very well known, that it was with Her afterward as formerly after the manner of Women; and all the Industry used to conceal it proved Ineffectual, because it came to the Knowledge of more than were made privy to the Plot.

And, whereas in four Months time the Breasts of a VVoman with

with Child begin to swell and yield Milk, the Queens Breasts never swelled all the time of her pretended Child-bearing, nor produced any Milk, whatever one Court Lady affirmed to the contrary. If the Queen had any Milk in her Breasts, it was so much for her Interest and the Credit of her Cause to convince the World of her real being with Child, by giving that signal Demonstration of it, that I had rather think her Majesty wanted Milk, than so much common Prudence as to make it appear, in case she had any. And we are very well assured, that none of the Ladies proper to be Witnesses could ever obtain the satisfaction to see a drop of Milk from her Breasts.

The same Reason we have to disbelieve the Quickening of the Child in her Womb, however industriously it was spread abroad. For the feeling of its Motion was never vouchsafed to any competent Witnesses of it which would have been a main Proof of her Pregnancy, had there been any such Thing. And therefore 'twas expected, to give the suspicious Kingdom a Ground to believe the Queen to be really with Child, that her Majesty would have made some of the Protestant Ladies of her Bed-Chamber sensible of so great a Proof of her being in the Condition she pretended.

Another manifest Sign of the true natural Progress of a Great Belly, is the Distension of all the Parts of the Body that encompass the Womb. The Queen indeed had her Belly exceedingly copped up, and high. But, as it was observed by skilful Matrons, all the outward Parts of her Body that incircle the Womb were of the same proportion that they were at other times. And, when they minded her Majesty walking, and lookt upon her behind and on each side, they could see no appearance in her of a Great Bellied Woman. Her Bodies were made without alteration. And, during all the last four Months, when she was to change her Linnen, She always withdrew from her Chamber with two or three Italian Women, and retired into her Closet, or some other private Room, contrary to her former usual Course; and would not suffer any of the Protestant Ladies of the Bed-Chamber to see her shift her self, as they had constantly done.

All these strong Presumptions, that the Queen's Great Belly was but a false Appearance, to delude the Nation. But there

there are other Circumstances, that create as great a Prejudice against it.

In the Preparation for Her Majesties supposed Delivery it was expected, that early Notice should be given to the Princess of the Blood of her expected Travel, and of the Place of her Residence at such time; that proper Noble Matrons, and others, might prepare themselves, and attend there in their behalf, who, by their Testimonies might have for ever suppressed and silenced all Suspicions of Fraud or Imposture. It was hoped at least, that the Princess of *Denmark* would have been present, to see what was brought forth. But Care was taken to advise her, when she wanted astringent Medicines, to go to the loosening Waters of the Bath; and to keep her 80 miles distant, till the supposed Prince should be born.

To conceal the Time and intended Place for this fictitious Travel, such Artifices were used, that no body could tell when nor where this Play was to be acted. Sometimes the Queen was to lye at *Richmond*, sometimes at *Windsor*, another time at *Hampton-Court*, tho *St. James's* was the Place appointed. And, when her Majesty declared she would lye at *St. James's* on the *Saturday* at night, which was the Night before her pretended Travel and Delivery, the Warning was so very short, that with much ado her Lodgings could be got ready time enough.

That very night the Queen was late at Cards, without any Sign of fore-running Pains of a Woman whose Travel approacheth, nor is any pretended to have been in the Night. And it does not so much as appear, that the usual Instruments of Midwives, whereupon they commonly place all Women of Quality in their Time of Travel, were got in readiness. So that every Thing was carried on and managed by her Majesty, as if she chose rather to confirm the general Opinion of the People, that this was but a pious Cheat, than to be at the trouble of affecting all the parts of a Woman with Child.

The Time of the Day fixt upon for this Travel, and the Room itself wherein it was to be acted, are two other unlucky Circumstances that mainly fortify the National Prejudice against this pretended Prince. The Travel was contrived to be at Church-time on the *Sunday*, between the hours of nine and ten in the morning, that the Business might be over before the Protestant Ladies were come from Church, and that the Assistant Matrons might be free to act their Parts as they did. In

In the Room there was a private Door within the Ruel of the Bed, leading into an Inner Room, from whence a Child might be secretly brought, and put unseen into the Bed. And by that Privy Door all the Transactions were managed. 'Tis true, some Lords and Ladies were brought into the Bed-Chamber, but only to be seen in the Room, and that their Names might be published as VVitnesses of the Queen's being Delivered, tho they saw nothing that was done.

For the Queen lay in Bed with all the Curtains round close drawn, whilst the Midwife and her Confederates seemed very busy about Her Majesty in the dark, none seeing what they did. Nor do's it appear, that Her Majesty had any of those natural Signs which usually attend a Travel, and such as cannot be hidden. Her Labour was short and easy, far beyond what could be expected from her State of Body, debilitated with long lingering Infirmities. VVhich might be so contrived, lest the Child that was got in the Bed should be stifled by the Closeness of it.

The Jobb being thus finely over, something close covered was by the Midwife delivered to one of the Confederate Matrons, and both hastned with it through the Privy Door into the next Room, without declaring what it was, a Prince or a Princess. VVhich looks something odd of the Midwife, to quit her Attending and Assisting the Queen, when her Attendance and Skill were both so necessary to preserve her Majesties Life, if she had really brought forth either a Son or a Daughter.

Nor was the Child heard to Cry, which is the common and most constant natural Sign of the Birth of a living Child. Which might be, because the Child that was brought in was prepared to sleep, to prevent its Crying before it was conveyed into the Bed, and slept on till it was gradually awaked.

The King, after some time, leaving the Lords of the Council in the Bed-Chamber (who had waited all this while to no more purpose, than if they had been ten miles off) with-drew into the inner Room, where the supposed Prince was. And soon after the News was brought them, that a Prince was born. VVhereupon some went away, and others staid yet a while, to have a sight of this New-born Prince. VVho being shewn unto them, the King said, That he had now a Son, a strong,

and lively Prince. VVhich gave occasion for a Joke, even amongst the meanest sort of Child-bearing Women, *That such a Child of about Eight Months was as great a Miracle as the Queens Conception.* For, by their Majesties Reckoning, this supposed Prince was but the Product of eight Months and four Days; and to see such an untimely Birth so strong and lively, especially from so weak a Mother, is rare, and almost past Belief.

Nor was the Matter much mended by saying, That it was frequent amongst Child-bearing VVomen to Misreckon; or by persuading the Queen to declare, contrary to her first Reckoning (which she kept to several Weeks after her pretended Delivery) That she had miscounted the Time of her Conception, and that she knew her self to be with Child before her Use of the *Bath*. Strange! that Her Majesty should be then with Child, and yet have her Monthly Courses, as she had in her Journey to the *Bath*, and four Days after the Kings going from thence. That, knowing her self with Child at that time, she should not acquaint her Physicians with it; the meanest of whom might have told Her Majesty, That her Bathing would probably destroy the Embryo. And that Her Majesty should not consider, this would spoil the Story of the Miracle of *Loretto*, said to be performed at the King's Return to *Bath*.

These are Things so Inconsistent, and altogether so Irreconcilable, that they would be hissed at in any Judicious and Impartial Court of Judicature. But any Thing will go down with a sort of Men that can digest Contradictions, and whose Zeal to their Religion can make them believe at random what they see not, and not to believe what they see.

If the Queen's pretended Conception was Miraculous, the Progress of her Great Belly, and her Delivery, were as Preternatural. Nay, the very Consequents of her Delivery were no less wonderful, so that it was all but one continued Miracle. To see a Queen, at the best but tender and weak, yet free from any Danger of her Life after an Untimely Birth, without Fever, or so much as the usual Redundancy of Milk, these are such Blessings from Heaven as may pass for Miracles. But, as the Miracle of the Conception was spoiled by shifting the Reckoning, so it is to be feared that the rest was all of a piece.

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From what is said, upon very sure Evidence, I leave the World to judge what Ground there is to believe the supposed Prince of *Wales* to be born of the Queen. I confess it is something hard to think, That a Father should be so Unjust and Unnatural, as to put by his own Lawful Children from their Succession to the Crown, to make Room for an Interloper, a supposititious Child. Besides the Affront put, 1. Upon the two Princes, joined in Wedlock to his Daughters, and having thereby a Matrimonial Right to the Crown. 2. Upon three Kingdoms, by Imposing a strange (tho innocent) Child upon them to be the next Successor, and consequently to receive in time Homage and Allegiance of all the Subjects thereof, the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty, with all dutiful Submission to his Commands. 3. Upon all Foreign States, Dominions, Powers, and Principalities, by setting up a Sham-Prince, who being upon the Throne must be lookt upon and respected as a great King and a lawful Prince, in all their Treaties and Negotiations with him.

But what is not a blind Zeal capable of? To Settle a Popish Successor in these Kingdoms was such a piece of meritorious Service to the Church of *Rome*, that nothing could induce the King more to her, than the doing of it. What Issue he had then alive were too much dipt in Heresy; and nothing could bring them off from it, no not so much as to consent to the Repealing of those two Bug-bears, the Penal Laws and the Tests.

But, suppose this Prince were really born of the Queen, against which there are so many strong Presumptions, 'tis a Thing unaccountable why the Queen should be so shy all the time of her Child-bearing to give that publick Satisfaction about it which was reasonably expected from her Majesty. The Nation was possessed, it was all but a Trick. It had been therefore but common Prudence in the Queen to Undeceive us as far as it lay in her power, even for the Child's sake in her Womb. If her Majesty had Milk in her Breasts, what diminution to her Glory had it been to let her Protestant Ladies see but some Drops of it? If, when the Child stirred in the Womb, but two or three true-hearted Protestant Ladies had been admitted to feel those Motions, it had gone a great way to silence all Gainfayers, and to quicken the very Nation into another Belief. When Her Majesty was near the time of her
Travel,

Travel, to what purpose was the Place appointed for her Lying In so concealed, that no Protestant could tell where to find Her? And why must a Room at last be chosen at *S. James's*, with a private Door within the Ruel of the Bed, leading into another Room, which alone was enough to create a Suspicion? To which add a total Neglect, and absolute slighting of all the necessary Rules of Law and Justice about needful Witnesses of the Birth of a Prince and Heir to the Crown. So that, supposing this pretended Prince to be really born of the Queen, it must be granted, that Things were so managed from the beginning to the end, as if the Court intended to make the Thing still more doubtful, and the Suspicion the stronger. And, if that was their Aim, they have hit the Nail on the Head.

Thus, the Birth of this supposed Prince not being lawfully Witnessed, Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Orange* had no Reason to depart from her Claim of Heiress apparent to the Crown, or to Resign it to him; But rather to complain to the World of the Wrong done her, by suffering a supposed Child to steal upon her Right, and assume the Name of Prince and Heir apparent to the Crown.

Nor was it her part to prove him a Counterfeit, it being a Rule by the Laws and Customs of all Civil Governments for any one that claims to be the lawful Son of a Family, to bring in legal Proofs for it. Her Royal Highness had been hitherto acknowledged to be the Heiress apparent of the Crown; and nothing could legally abate her from that Claim but a true born Prince, with such Legal Witnesses as would satisfy the Nation that it was so. The Want of which in this Case left the Princess of *Orange* in her full Claim to the next Succession.

To vindicate which Claim, and to Secure withal the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms, His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, upon the earnest and humble Application of several of the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, came over from *Holland* with a competent Force. Which leads me to my Third Part.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
Of the L A T E
R E V O L U T I O N

P A R T III.

*Shewing Our Wonderful Deliverance by our present King
William, and our Great Happiness therein.*

THings were now brought to an Extremity, and nothing but a miraculous Providence could Rescue us from our Enemies. To which end it pleased God to raise His Highness, the Prince of Orange. A Magnanimous, Wise, and Religious Prince; whose Illustrious Family seems to have been appointed by Providence, ever since the Reformation, for the Preservation of God's Church, and a Check to Tyranny.

This Prince being penetrated with the dismal Account he receiv'd of the French Persecution, and possessed with a Zeal against the Known Combination of King James the Reformation for the Inslaving all Europe, and Rooting out to oppose their Ambition, with God's help in so just a Cause, that had been hitherto the Idolatrous Designs. England, King's Greatness, was the most likely Instrument of the French reduced to its proper

proper and natural Course, to influence and procure his Fall. The Provocations were great on King *James's* side, by his Arbitrary Methods of Government contrary to Law and the Subjects Liberty, by his Attempts upon their Religion, and by Imposing upon them a Successor justly suspected of being a Stranger to the Royal Blood.

For the Redressing which Abuses, by a Free and Full Parliament, His Royal Highness undertook the late famous Expedition; which God was pleased to Crown with Glory and Success, to the Amazement of all Europe, the Joy of all rational Men, and the Terroure of Tyranny. In order to which suitable Preparations had been made in *Holland*, both by Sea and Land, to defend his Highness from the Violence of all such as should oppose Him. Which were carried on with that wonderful Secrecy, tho' the Secret was dispersed amongst many, that the Sagacious Count *D'Avaux*, the French Ambassador at the *Hague*, could not list out the Meaning of it, till all Things were in great forwardness, and the Prince almost ready to take Shipping. Whose Forces consisted of about 13000 Men, Horse, Foot, and Dragoons; and (which is remarkable) a good part of them Papists. For the Transporting whereof, with all Things necessary, there were 300 Fly-boats, Pinkes, and other Vessels, under the Convoy of 50 Capital Men of War, 26 Smaller, and 25 Fire-ships.

The Sum
of the
Prince of
Orange's
Declara-
tion.

But, before his Setting out, He published a Declaration, to satisfy the World with the Justice of his Undertaking. Wherein, having fairly shewn the manifest and undeniable Invasion of the Laws and Liberties of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by the Kings Evil Counsellors, He Declares, That, Upon the most earnest Solicitations of a great many Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and of many Gentlemen and other Subjects of all Ranks, for the Relief of these Three Kingdoms, He thought fit to cross over into *England* with a Force sufficient (by the Blessing intended to defend him from Violence. That his Expedient Parliament for no other End, but to have a Free recourse to the whole Nation assembled, as soon as possible, in Law, Rights, and Liberties, to the free Enjoyment of Government, to preserve the Protestant under a Just and free such as would live peaceably under the Government,

vernment (as becomes good Subjects) from all Persecution upon the account of their Religion, even Papists themselves not excepted; so that there might be no more Danger of the Nations falling at any time hereafter under Arbitrary Government. He further Declares, That to this Parliament he would Refer the Inquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and of all Things relating to it, or to the Right of Succession. And, for the Executing of this his just Design, He Invites and Requires all Persons whatsoever, all the Peers of the Realm both Spiritual and Temporal, all Lords Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and all Gentlemen, Citizens, and other Commons of all Ranks, to Come and Assist Him against all such as should endeavour to Oppose Him. Whereby all those Miseries might be prevented, which must needs follow upon the Nations being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery; and all the Violences and Disorders which had Overturned the whole Constitution of the English Government, might be fully Redressed in a Free and Legal Parliament. Then He concludes to this purpose. That he would take Care, as soon as the Nations were brought to a State of Quiet, that a Parliament should be called in Scotland, for Restoring the ancient Constitution of that Kingdom, and for bringing the Matters of Religion to such a Settlement, that the People might live easy and happy, and for putting an end to all the Unjust Violences that had been committed there in a course of so many Years. And, as for Ireland, That he would study to bring that Kingdom to such a State, that the Settlement there might be religiously observed, and that the Protestant and British Interest there might be secured. Finally, That He would Endeavour, by all possible Means, to procure such an Establishment in all the Three Kingdoms, that they might all live in a happy Union and Correspondency together; and that the Protestant Religion, the Peace, Honour, and Happiness of these Nations might be established upon lasting Foundations. This Declaration being Given under His Highnesses Hand and Seal at his Court in the Hague, Oct. 24. (New-Style) 1688. was accordingly thus signed, *William Henry Prince of Orange*, and by His Highnesses Command, *C. Huygens*.

The King, having had Notice of the Prince's Design but a Month before his Highness set out from *Holland*, hurried away from *Windsor* (where the Court then was) to *White-hall*, and from thence to *Chatham*, to get as much of his Fleet in readiness as could be done in so short a Warning. He came to *White-hall* Sept. 18. and the next Day he went down the River to *Chatham*; the Queen and the Prince of *Wales*, with the whole Court, returning in a great hurry the Day after.

His Majesty had, sometime before, signified his Pleasure to Call a Parliament to meet in *November* next, and Writs of Summons were issued out accordingly. Upon this Intelligence He did put out a plausible Declaration, dated Sept. 21st. wherein He declared *His Royal Purpose to Indebour at the next Sessions a Legal Establishment of an Universal Liberty of Conscience for all his Subjects, together with his Resolution Inviolably to Preserve the Church of England as by Law Established, excepting the Penal Clauses. And, to remove all Fears and Apprehensions that the Legislative Power would be Ingrossed by the Roman Catholicks, and turned against Protestants, He declared his Willingness that they should remain Incapable to be Members of the House of Commons. As for the Election of Members of Parliament, His Majesty by this His Declaration gave strict Orders, that all Things relating thereto should be done according to Law.*

Immediately after the publishing of the said Declaration, the King was pleased to Authorize and Impower the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties to Grant Deputations to such Gentlemen as had been lately Removed from being Deputy-Lieutenants. And His Majesty gave also Directions to the Lord Chancellor to put into the Commission of the Peace such Gentlemen as had been laid aside, and should be recommended by the said Lords Lieutenants.

And, upon the Attendance of several of the Bishops on the King, His Majesty was pleased, amongst other Gracious Expressions, to let them know, That he would signify his Pleasure for taking off the Suspension of the Lord Bishop of London. Which was done accordingly.

Then came out his Proclamation, under the Date of Sept. 28th. Wherein He first informs his People of a great and sudden

den Invasion from Holland, to be speedily made in a Hostile Manner upon this his Kingdom; And then solemnly Conjures all his Subjects heartily to Unite together in the Defence of Him, and their Native Country, as the only Way (under God) to defeat and frustrate the Principal Hope and Design of his and their Enemies. But, whereas he did intend to have met his Parliament in November next, He found it necessary, in regard of this strange and unreasonable Attempt from our Neighbouring Country, without any manner of Provocation, to recall the Writs issued forth, with Orders to surcease all further Proceedings thereon. Then He proceeds to give the necessary Charge to all Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, to use their best and utmost Endeavours, to Resist, Rebel, and Suppress his Enemies, who came with such Confidence and great Preparations to Invade and Conquer these his Kingdoms. And lastly, does most expressly and strictly Injoin and Prohibit all his Subjects from giving any manner of Aid, Assistance, Countenance, or Succour, or from holding any Correspondence with these his Enemies, or any of their Complices, upon Pain of High Treason, and being proceeded against with the utmost Severity.

Within four Days after came out His Majesties most Gracious and General Pardon; but with such Intricate Clauses as resolved the Pardon into little or nothing.

The King upon this, having received several Complaints of great Abuses and Irregularities committed in the late Regulation of the Corporations, Authorized and Required the Lords Lieutenants of the several Counties to Inform themselves of all such Abuses and Irregularities within their Lieutenancies; and to make forthwith Report thereof to His Majesty, together with what they conceived fit to be done for Redressing the same. Whereupon His Majesty would give such farther Orders as should be requisite.

The next Thing was His Majesties Appointing the Lord Bishop of Winchester as Visitor of St. Mary Magdalen in Oxford, to Settle that Society Regularly and Statutably.

Then a Proclamation, for Restoring Corporations to their Ancient Charters, Liberties, Rights and Franchises. Followed by an Order from the King and Council, under His Majesties Signet and Sign-Manual, to Remove, Displace, and Discharge all manner of Officers and Magistrates of Cities, Boroughs, and

Towns Corporate, which had or claimed such Offices or Places by Charter, Patent, or Grant from the late King, or from Him, since the Year 1679. Except such Cities and Towns whose Deeds of Surrender were Inrolled, or against whom Judgments in Quo Warranto were entered.

And Oct. 2d. the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with several other Eminent Citizens of London, attending the King, His Majesty was pleased to tell them, *That out of his Concern for the Peace and Welfare of the City, and as a Mark of the great Confidence He had in them at this time that the Kingdom was threatened with an Invasion, He had resolved to restore to them their Ancient Charter and Privileges, and to put them into the same Condition they were at the time of the Judgment pronounced against them upon the Quo Warranto, that so they might be better enabled to serve him with that Duty and Loyalty which they had given the King his Brother and Himself so many Testimonies of, and upon which His Majesty did depend. Whereupon the King was pleased to give express Commands to the Lord Chancellor of England, and the Attorney General, to prepare such Grant or Instrument of Restauration and Confirmation as should be requisite, and that the same should be forthwith Dispatched.*

Thus having been Exercised to the Right and to the Left, Backward and Forward, We found our selves at last much *As we were* at first. And, had there been any rational Hopes of Continuing thus, without any further Breach, these gentle Methods (tho upon a forced Put) would have gone perhaps a great way to turn the Stream, and to quiet the People. But, what Assurance could be had of having these our Rights continued to us any longer than what would serve our Enemies Turn?

The Prince therefore, hearing of these Retractions, which proceeded more from Fear than any Principle of Justice, published an Additional Declaration, Given under his Hand and Seal at his Court at the *Hague* the 24th. (being our 14th.) of October, in these following Words.

The
Prince of
Orange's
Additional
Decla-
ration,

After VVe had prepared and printed Our Declaration, VVe have understood, That the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of those Kingdoms, hearing of Our Preparations to assist the People

ple against them, have begun to Retract some of the Arbitrary and Despotick Powers that they had assumed, and to Vacate some of their unjust Judgments and Decrees. The Sense of their Guilt, and the Distrust of their Force, have induced them to Offer to the City of London some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions, hoping thereby to quiet the People, and to divert them from demanding a secure Re-establishment of their Religion and Laws, under the shelter of our Arms. They do also give out, that we intend to Conquer and Enslave the Nation. Therefore We have thought fit to add a few Words to our Declaration.

We are confident, that no Persons can have such hard Thoughts of Us, as to imagine, that We have any other Design in this Undertaking, than to procure a Settlement of the Religion and of the Liberties and Properties of the Subjects upon so sure a Foundation, that there may be no danger of the Nation Relapsing into the like Miseries at any time hereafter. And, as the Forces We have brought along with Us are utterly disproportioned to that wicked Design of Conquering the Nation, if We were capable of intending it; So the great Numbers of the Principal Nobility and Gentry, that are Men of Eminent Quality and Estates, and Persons of known Integrity and Zeal both for the Religion and Government of England, many of them being also distinguished by their constant Fidelity to the Crown, who do both accompany Us in this Expedition, and have earnestly solicited Us to it, will cover us from all such malicious Insinuations. For it is not to be imagined, that either those who have Invited Us, or those that are already come to assist Us, can joyn in a wicked Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates, and Interests. We are also confident, that all Men see how little weight there is to be laid on all Promises and Engagements that can be now made, since there has been so little Regard had in time past to the most solemn Promises. And, as that imperfect Redress that is now offered is a plain Confession of those Violations of the Government that We have set forth, so the Defectiveness of it is no less apparent. For they lay down nothing which they may not take up at pleasure, reserving intire, and not so much as mentioned their Claims, and Pretences to an Arbitrary and Despotick Power; which has been the Root of all their Oppression, and of the Total Subversion of the Government. And it is plain, that there can be no Redress nor Remedy offered but in Parliament, by a Declaration of the Rights

Rights of the Subjects that have been invaded, and not by any pretended Acts of Grace, to which the extremity of their Affairs has driven them. Therefore it is that we have thought fit to Declare, that we will refer all to a Free Assembly of the Nation in a Lawful Parliament.

King James, having notice of these Declarations, which touched him to the quick, and made him very uneasy, His Majesty forthwith put out a Proclamation, dated Nov. 2d. to forewarn all his Subjects *not to publish, disperse, repeat, or hand about the said Treasonable Papers and Declarations, or any of them, or any other Paper or Papers, of such like nature; Nor presume to Read, Receive, Conceal, or keep them, or any of them, without Discovering or Revealing the same with all speed to some of the Privy Council, or to some of the Judges, Justices of the Peace, or other publick Magistrates, upon Peril of being Prosecuted according to the utmost Severity of the Law.*

A Fortnight before this a Proclamation was come out, strictly charging all the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties adjoining to the Sea, and all other Officers Civil and Military within the said Counties, *to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first approach of the Enemy to cause all manner of Cattel fit for Burden and Draught, and not actually employed in His or the Countrey's Service, to be Driven and Removed by the space at least of twenty Miles from the Place where the Enemy should attempt to Land, and to secure the same in such effectual Manner, that they might not fall into the Hands or Power of any of His Enemies.*

Another Proclamation was set forth, under the Date of Octob. 26: *to Restrain the Spreading of false News, in this time of publick Danger, by Charging all Officers and Magistrates whatsoever to take effectual Care for the speedy Apprehension, Prosecution, and severe Punishment of all Offenders herein.*

Lastly, there came out a Declaration, dated Nov. 6. wherein His Majesty, after some grievous Reflections on this pretended *Unchristian and Unnatural Attempt of the Prince of Orange to Invade his Kingdoms, and the many Mischiefs and Calamities which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels must unavoidably bring upon His People, Charges His Highness with Assuming the Regal Style in his Declaration, by Requiring therein the Piers of the Realm, &c. to Obey, and Assist him in the Execution of his De-*

signs,

signs, whereas the words are, to Come and Assist him, which alters the Case very much, and makes the Exception void. Then He exclaims upon the Prince's Calling in question the Legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, his Son and Heir apparent, notwithstanding there were at his Birth so many Witnesses of Unquestionable Credit. And, whereas the Prince of Orange had Declared, that he would submit all to the Determination of a Free Parliament, His Majesty by this his Declaration indeavours to possess his People, that a Parliament could not be free, so long as there was an Army of Forreigners in the Heart of his Kingdom, and declared his Resolution to call one as soon as his Kingdoms should be delivered from this Invasion, with Assurances of Receiving and Redressing all the Just Complaints and Grievances of His good Subjects, and of Maintaining them in their Religion, Liberties, and Properties. Upon which Considerations, and the Obligations of their Duty, and natural Allegiance, He promises Himself, that they will readily and heartily Concur and Joyn with him in the intire Suppression and Repelling of those his Enemies and Rebellious Subjects, coming to Disturb the Peace of these his Kingdoms.

The King had hitherto turned every Stone, to bring off his People from Joyning with the Prince, with daily Retractions, Promises and Threats, Proclamations, and Declarations. Nay some few Addresses were procured, full of horror and amazement at this intended *Invasion*, as they called it, and of the Subscribers Impatience to shew their Zeal for the King's Service, by Sacrificing their Lives and Fortunes for the support of his Crown and Dignity. Such was the humble Address of the Justices of the Peace for the County of *Cumberland*, subscribed unto by several other Gentlemen of the said County. Another from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *Exeter*. A third from the Mayor, Aldermen, Bailifs, and Citizens of the City of *Carlisle*. And, by Sir *Thomas Haggerstons* Report, then Governour of *Berwick*, the People of that Place were so transported with Loyalty to the King, and possessed with such a Detestation and abhorrence of this *Invasion*, that they not only Resolved to venture their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of the King's Person and Government; but desired withal, that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to send down Commissions for the Raising a Regiment of Inhabitants, to be assist-
ing

ing to the King's standing Forces there, as Occasion should offer.

All this the *Gazets* took great care to acquaint us with; as also to let us know those Noble Peers and others who, upon the News of this miscalled *Invasion*, humbly offered their Services to His Majesty. Amongst which was his Grace the late Duke of *Newcastle*, to whom the King gave a Commission to raise a Regiment of Foot.

The King had a gallant Army, but most of them were Protestants, and not a few true English Men, readier to draw the Sword for the Defence of the Protestant Religion and the Liberty of *England*, than for the Maintenance of those two Inseparable Monsters, *Papery* and *Slavery*. The People generally waited for the Princes Coming with great Impatience, and could not conceal the Joy which the Expectation of him had diffus'd ov^r all the Kingdom. So that, if this were an Invasion, one could every where read Treason in their Faces, and a Man could scarce turn about but he met with a Traytor.

They that knew not the North from the South, or the East from the West, fell learning of the Compass, to find out how the Wind sat, whilst they longed for that Wind which must bring over the Prince. So mindful were the People of the late Attempts upon their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, that they look't upon Him as their *Saviour*, whom the Court Party called *Invader*.

Such was the state of Things here, when the Prince of *Orange*, having long waited for a favourable Wind, did at last set out from *Holland* with His great Fleet, which lay in the *Flats* near the *Brill*. This was *October* 19. (old Style) 1688, when his Highness, attended by *Marschal de Schomberg* as General, with many other great Officers and Persons of Quality of several Nations, set Sail about four a Clock in the Afternoon. Nothing could be more glorious than his Setting out, but nothing more dismal than what followed soon after. So furious a Tempest did arise in the Night as wholly dispersed that prodigious Fleet, and gave great Apprehensions of its Loss. When *Holland*, that had seen but the day before the whole Fleet sail together in the greatest Splendour, saw now but scattered Ships return

return into its Harbour, not without some Damage. Which proved for some time a great Mortification to the Protestant Party, whilst the Roman Catholicks lookt upon it as an Indication of God's Anger, an ill Omen to the Prince, and a terrible Warning to His Highness not to Attempt any Thing against the Church Interest. In short, they presently concluded his Highness must let fall his Design. And 'tis observable, that, upon the News of it here, there was a Demurr put upon the Business of *Magdalen Colledge*; which shewed still what they would be at, if the Prince had any way failed in his Design.

But the whole Fleet came at last to several Ports of *Holland*, without so much as one Ship cast away. Only one Man, and 4 or 500 Horses were lost, which were thrown Over-board. So that his Highness, admiring God's Providential Goodness in so great a Trial, resolved to pursue his Heroick Design with the first Opportunity. And, whatever Application might be made unto him to dissuade him from any further Attempt, he declared, That his Word was too far engaged, and his Honour lay too much at Stake, for any Danger to deter him from the Performance of the first, or from Saving the last as far as it lay in his power. That, as He was satisfied with the Justice of his Undertaking, so He was fully convinced of God's merciful Goodness in Saving the whole Fleet from so apparent a Danger, which he took as a good Omen. Accordingly He ordered all Things to be got in readiness, and a speedy Recruit of Horses to be made.

About *Octob. 30.* the Wind turning Easterly, and blowing fresh, Orders were given to Set out with all Speed. And two Days after, *Nov. 1.* about Three in the Afternoon, the whole Fleet, now increased to a greater Number did set Sail. Which, being commanded by Admiral *Herbert*, was divided into three Squadrons, the *Red*, *White*, and *Blue*, according to the Colour of their respective Flags. The Prince was in the *Brill*, a new Ship of about 30 Guns; Whose Flag was English Colours, with this Motto impaled thereon, *The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England*; and underneath, *I Will Maintain It.*

To the *Red Squadron* belonged the *English* and *Scotch* Forces, consisting of six Foot Regiments, commanded by Major General *Mackay*. To the *White*, the Prince's *Gards* and the *Brandenburghers*, under the Command of Count *Solms*. And the *Blue*

Squadron contained the *Dutch* and *French* Forces, commanded by Count *Nassaw*. Every Ship had a distinctive Mark, whereby it was Known unto what Squadron she belonged. And, when Night came upon them, all the Ships set out their Lights, which made a most glorious Shew upon the Sea; the Princes Ship having three Lanthorns, the other Men of War two each, and each other Ship one. All which at a distance appeared like so many Stars, moving upon the Water.

The Wind and VVeather continuing Fair, on *Saturday Nov. 3.* about Noon the Fleet got into the Channel, sailing VVestward with all their Colours set out, and stretched in a Line betwixt *Calais* and *Dover*, so that it reached within a League of each Place. His Highness led the Van, attended by three Men of War; one at a distance before his Ship, and one on each side. The Tenders, as Pinks, Flyboats, and other Vessels of this Kind, sailed next, with their Decks throng'd with Officers and Souldiers; the Flanks and Rear being guarded by the Men of VVar, but especially the Rear, as being most in danger to be followed by the English Fleet. In this great Splendour and Order the whole Fleet sailed with a Kind of Bravado betwixt *England* and *France*, Drums beating, Colours flying, the Trumpets sounding, and the Hoboys playing, for the space of three hours. Great was the Concourse of Spectators on both Shores, at 20 miles distance from each other, to see this glorious Sight, worthy of the greatest Monarch to behold. The Men of VVar that sailed nearest to *Dover* gave the Town and Castle some Guns, and those that went on the other side did the same by *Calais*.

The *English* Fleet, consisting of about 34 Sail under the Command of the Lord *Dartmouth*, lay then in the *Buoy of the Nore*; but did not think fit to stir, with a Number so much inferiour, and a parcel of Seamen who were Known to be VVell-wishers to the Prince.

The next Day, *Nov. 4.* being the Lord's Day, and the Day of the Prince's happy Birth and Marriage, the Fleet (being now come as far as the *Isle of VVight*) observed the Duty of the Day; and did not Sail, but all were driven of the VVaves, till about four in the Afternoon. VVhen, the VVind being still favourable, and blowing very fresh, every Ship made all the Sail she could bear.

Torbay

Torbay in *Devonshire* was the Place intended for Landing. But the next Morning, *Monday Nov. 5*, proving very Hazy and Foggy, and full of Rain, the Fleet hapned to Sail beyond it. About Nine of the Clock it cleared up; and, as Providence was pleased to order it, the VVind then chopped about, and turned VVest South VVest, a moderate Gale. Which brought them back to *Torbay*, and having executed it's Commission, was immediately in another Corner.

Then, by the Princes Order, the Standard was put up; the White Flag uppermost, signifying his Offer of Peace to all that would live Peaceably; and under that the Red (or Bloody) Flag, denouncing War to all such as should offer to oppose his just Designs.

Of all this great Fleet, three Tenders only were intercepted by our Men of War. One of them a Fly-boat, having on Board four Companies of Foot of Colonel *Babington's* Regiment, commanded by Major *Collambine*. This was taken by Captain *Aylmer*, Commander of the *Swallow* Frigate. The other two, being a small Pink and a Fishing Boat with 24 Horfe, separated from the Fleet, were taken below *Hole Haven* by Captain *Hastings*, Commander of the *Woolwich*.

Thus the Fleet landed at *Torbay* on the fifth of *November*. A memorable Day for the Gun-Powder Treason, which seems to have been marked out by Providence, that *Englands* Deliverance in the Reign of *James II.* might begin the same Day that it was designed for Ruin and Destruction in the Reign of King *James I.* The Year also is memorable; this Deliverance falling out in 88. just a hundred Years after *England* was delivered from the *Spanisb* Invasion in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, when it pleased God to confound and disperse that formidable Armada, which for its Greatness was in vain called *Invincible*.

The Prince of *Orange* being come into the Bay, with the major part of the Fleet, Boats were ordered to carry his Highness to Shore with his Gards, and the Noblemen that were about his Person. Who, being Landed, marched up the Hill, some before the Prince, and some after. Then the Guns fired from the Fleet, with the Beat of the Drums, the Sound of Trumpets, the Musick of Hoboys, and the joyful Huzza's of the Fleet and Army; the Ships with all their Colours out, and the Colours of the Land-Forces that went out with the Prince, flying and

flourishing before his Highness. And, whilst he was viewing the Ground on the Top of the Hill in order to In-amp his Army, all hands in the Fleet were at work to carry the Men and Horses, with their Necessaries, to Shore. So that the whole Army was Landed the next Day, being Tuesday. by three a Clock in the Afternoon; the Horse being Landed first, and then the Foot. But their Cannon and Carriages, &c. were sent about for *Topsham*, and from thence brought up by Water to *Exeter*.

At the upper end of the Bay was a Fair House belonging to one Mr. *Carey* a Papist, who entertained a Priest in his House. This Priest having discovered the Fleet from the Leads of the House, with the White Flags on some of the Men of War, concluded it to be the *French Fleet* come to Assist King *James* against the Prince of *Orange*. Transported with Joy at the Conceit of it, he without any more ado ordered all the Family to the Chappel, to sing *Te Deum* for the Arrival of the *French*. But he was soon undeceived, and thereupon laughed at for his Religious Mistake.

This House the Prince of *Orange*, upon his Landing, commanded to be Searched for Arms and Horses. Some Horses and a few Arms were found, and brought from thence; but without giving any further Disturbance to the House, where both the Searchers and the Searched entertained one another with mutual Civility.

Near the Sea-side were some Thatched Houses belonging to Fishermen, one of whom had the honour to Entertain the Prince at his House, till the *Wednesday* following. Which Day the Prince rode from this Place to Sir *William Courtney's*, within a mile of *Newton-Abbot*, the first Market-Town; the first Line of the Army being about *Newton*, and the last upon their March thither. Here a Divine, going before the Army, went to the Cross (or *Town-Hall*) on the Market-day; where he read aloud to the People the Prince's Declaration. Which ended with their joyful Acclamations, and kind Wishes to the Prince; followed soon after by Ringing of Bells, and Drinking of the Prince's Health. And, as his Highness was most kindly received and entertained at Sir *William Courtney's*, so were the Soldiers generally well treated by the *Vulgar*. Here began the Provi-

Provisions to abound, which hitherto had been very scarce; and, as they were honestly paid for, so the Army was quickly supplied with what the Country could afford.

On *Thursday Nov. 8th.* the Lord *Mordant* (now Earl of *Monmouth*) came to *Exeter* with three or four Troops of Horse, and Dr. *Burnet* with him. But, when they came to one of the Gates, it was shut against them. Upon which the Lord *Mordant* commanded the Porter, on pain of Death, to open the Gate. Which being open, his Lordship commanded him on the same Pain, not to shut it again. My Lord and the Doctor went to the Mayor, to know if he would meet the Prince at the Gate, and govern the City under Him. VVhich he excused, telling him he was under the Obligation of an Oath to His Majesty, and therefore desired the Prince would lay no Commands on him contrary to his Conscience. Thus, after some Debate of the Matter, they parted; whilst the Forces kept coming to Town.

The next Day, being Friday *Nov. 9th.* the Prince came into *Exeter*, attended (besides his Guards) with a brave Train of Nobles, Knights, and Gentlemen. Upon the Road he met with Multitudes of People, who welcomed His Highness with their Shouts and Huzzas. The same was done at *Exeter*, where the Streets were thronged on each side, the Windows beautified, and full of joyful Spectators. Being come to the Dean's House, where He kept his Court, He took some Refreshment; and then was pleas'd to go and render Thanks to God in the Cathedral Church, for his safe Arrival. VVhere being sat in the Bishops Seat, then Absent, the Quire began, and Sung *Te Deum*; and, after the Collects were ended, Dr. *Burnet* Read the Prince's Declaration. Dr. *Lamplugh*, then Bishop of this Diocese, was fled to *London* upon the Prince's Landing at *Torbay*. VVhere having waited upon the King at *White-Hall*, His Majesty was pleas'd to reward this piece of his Loyalty by Translating him to the Archbishoprick of *Tork*, which had been a long time Vacant.

The main Body of the Army marched in the mean time, the Horse to the Neighbouring Parishes, and the Foot to *Clift-Heath*, where they Incamped. Both Horse and Foot look'd very much Disabled and Weather beaten, what with the Sea, and what with their March hither through bad Ways, and in Rainy
VVeather;

Weather. Their Horses were for the most part too Weak, that they could scarce stand upon their Legs. So that, if the King's Forces had been ready at hand, it might have gone very hard, in case of a Fight, with the Prince's Army. But it pleased God so to order it, that, while the King expected the Prince in the North, the Prince gave him the Go-by, and took his Course a great way to the West; that, being upon his Landing at a good distance from His Majesties Forces, He might have time to Refresh His own, before they could come to Action.

The Prince therefore thought fit to stay a while at *Exeter*, but this was not the only Reason. Not a Person of Quality and Interest in those Parts, (besides Sir William Courtney,) had joyned Him hitherto, which His Highness did much wonder at. Only on the *Monday, Nov. 12*, one Captain *Burrington* came, and offered him his Service; who was accordingly very kindly received by His Highness. But, two Days after, several noted Gentlemen of *Dorset-Shire* and *Somersetshire* came in to Joyn the Prince, and waited on His Highness *Thursday Nov. 15* To whom He spake after this manner.

Gentlemen,

The Prince's
speech
to the
Gentry
that came
to Joyn
him at
Exeter.

Tho' We know not all your Persons yet We have a Catalogue of your Names, and remember the Character of your Worth and Interest in your Country. You see We are come, according to your Invitation and our Promise. Our Duty to God obliges Us to Protect the Protestant Religion; and Our Love to Mankind, your Liberties and Properties. We expected you that dwell so near the Place of our Landing would have joyned us sooner. Not that it is now too late, nor that we want your Military Assistance, so much as your Countenance and Presence, to justify our declared Pretensions, in order to accomplish our good and gracious Design. Tho' We have brought both a good Fleet and a good Army, to render these Kingdoms happy, by Rescuing all Protestants from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power, by Restoring them to their Rights and Properties established by Law, and by Promoting of Peace and Trade, which is the Soul of Government and the Life of the Nation; yet we rely more on the goodness of God, and the Justice of our Cause, than on any humane Force and Power whatever. But, since God is pleased that we should make use of humane Means, and not expect Miracles, for our Preservation and Happiness, let

us not neglect making use of this gracious Opportunity, but with Prudence and Courage put in execution our so honourable Purposes. Therefore Gentlemen, Friends, and Fellow Protestants, We bid you and all your Followers most Heartily Welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now Judge, if our Pretensions are not Just, Generous, Sincere, and above Price, since We might have even a Bridge of Gold to Return back. But it is our Principle and Resolution rather to die in a good Cause, than live in a bad one; Virtue and true Honour being its own Reward, and the Happiness of Mankind our great and only Design.

Both the Clergy and Gentry of this County were uneasy, for fear that King James should prevail, and therefore backward to declare for the Prince. But the People were forward enough. For, when the Drums beat for Volunteers, they came in apace from all Parts of the County, insomuch that many Captains pickt and chose their Souldiers. Thousands did list themselves to whom Arms were Given; and many more would have done the same, who were dismissed, upon Mareschal Schombergs Advice, that there was no need of them. Thus the Citizens Fears of King James's Forces lessening every day, they began to talk now more freely, and to be more and more inclined towards the Prince. The Mayor himself and Aldermen, much taken up with their Consultations upon the present Juncture, came at last to visit his Highness.

The Lord Lovelace coming through Cirencester in Gloucestershire to joyn the Prince at Exeter with near 70 Horse very well appointed, had the Misfortune to be stopt at that Town, and seized with thirteen of his Party, by the Officers of the Militia. Who met however with so sharp a Resistance, that several of them were killed, and others wounded. Amongst the first were Lorege Major of the Regiment and his Son, Captain Lee a Deputy Lieutenant of the County, and Williams a Lieutenant.

About the same time, viz. on Monday Nov. 12, the Lord Cornbury, Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons, marched from Salisbury, in order to bring over that Regiment, and two more of Horse, to the Prince of Orange. Which two Regiments of Horse were the Royal Regiment, and the Duke
of

of *S. Alban's*, then Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel *Langston*. They marched together, first to *Dorchester*, where they refreshed themselves; and then went on to *Bridport*, and *Axmister*. Upon which several Officers, mistrusting his Lordship, asked him whither they were going? Who answered, he had the King's Orders to beat up the Enemies Quarters at *Honiton*. But finding the Royal Regiment of Horse, and several Officers of the Dragoons, did more and more suspect him, his Lordship marched with the Officers and Dragoons that would follow him towards *Honiton*, Lieutenant Colonel *Langston* marching before with the Regiment of *S. Albans*. As for the Royal Regiment of Horse, and the rest of the Dragoons, they marched back towards *Bridport*, being very much wearied by their long Marches, and put into some Disorder by so great a Surprise.

Salisbury Plain was the Place of *Rendez-vous* for the Kings Army, consisting of above 30000 Men, with a Great Train of Artillery, under the Command of the Earl of *Feversham*; and all the Forces drew that Way, in order to a Battle.

Mean while, to bring Things to an Accommodation, and prevent Effusion of Blood, a Petition for the Calling of a Free Parliament, Subscribed by Nineteen Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, was presented to the King by the Lords Spiritual; viz. the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Arch-Bishop of *York*, Elect, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Bishop of *Rockester*, in these Words.

The
Lords Petition
for
a Parliament.

May it please your Majesty,

We your Majesties most Loyal Subjects, in a deep Sense of the Miseries of a War now breaking forth in the Bowels of this your Kingdom, and of the Danger to which Your Majesties Sacred Person is thereby like to be exposed, and also of the Distractions of your People by reason of their present Grievances, Do think ourselves bound in Conscience, of the Duty we owe to God, and our Holy Religion, to your Majesty, and our Country, most humbly to offer to your Majesty, That in our Opinion the only visible Way to preserve your Majesty, and this your Kingdom, would be the Calling of a Parliament, Regular and Free in all its Circumstances.

We

We therefore do most earnestly beseech Your Majesty, That You would be Graciously Pleased, with all Speed, to call such a Parliament; Wherein we shall be most ready to promote such Counsels and Resolutions of Peace and Settlement in Church and State, as may conduce to Your Majesties Honour and Safety, and to the Quieting of the Minds of Your People.

We do likewise humbly beseech Your Majesty, in the mean time, to use such Means for the preventing the Effusion of Christian Blood as to Your Majesty shall seem most meet.

And Your Petitioners shall ever Pray, &c.

To which the King gave this Answer. *My Lords, VVhat* The
you ask of Me I most passionately desire; And I promise you, upon King's
the Faith of a King, That I will have a Parliament, and such an Answer.
One as You ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quit-
ted this Realm. For how is it possible a Parliament should be Free
in all its Circumstances, as you Petition for, whilst an Enemy is
in the Kingdom, and can make a Return of near an hundred Voices?

This was the King's Pretence for shunning a Parliament. Which, being Regularly chosen, would in all probability call his evil Counsellors to an account, whom He thought himself bound in Honour to Protect; and strictly Inquire into the Birth of the pretended Prince of VVales, the Questioning of which was a Stab at his Heart. A Parliament that would probably bind up the Prerogative, pull down the Dispensing Power, and damn that Beast with Seven Heads, the Ecclesiastical Court. A Parliament that would prove fatal to his dearly beloved Priests and Jesuits, and that would have pulled down all their Schools and Chappels, had they not been prevented by the unaccountable Zeal of the Mobile. Lastly, The King foresaw, that the Prince would have demanded some Forts to be put into his Hands and the Parliaments, for their Security. So that He expected, in case of a Free Parliament, to be but a Nominal King, and an unhappy Instrument of the Ruin of his Child, Friends, and Religion. And, rather than do that, He chose to Perish.

On the other side, He might flatter himself with hopes, 1. That we should never be able to Agree, after he had made it impossible for us to have a Legal Parliament. 2. That, when the Fear and Disorder were over, the Church of England Principles would form a great Parry for him in the Nation. 3. That the French King would Assist him with Forces and Money; and,

if he should prevail by Force, then by a Popish Army he would for ever Insure the Slavery of England.

The only Advantage we could pretend to have by the Coming over of the Prince of Orange with an Army was, to force the King to what he would never have yielded without that Force. And, had the Prince gone back *Re infecta*, 'tis not likely the King would have then granted us what he would not do now. Suppose he had called a Parliament, what Assurance could we have of their Sitting, as long as he should have no Occasion to Fear? Then, to be sure, he would have disbanded the Protestants of his Army, and supply'd their rooms with Irish Papists, to have at last a Parliament (if a Parliament must be had) of their making.

This being at that time the Posture of our Affairs, that the Prince referred all to a Parliament, and the King would have none before he had quitted the Kingdom, all Things seemed disposed to the Decision of a Bettel. In order to which his Majesty, accompanied by his Highness Prince George of Denmark, parted upon Saturday Nov. 17. from White-hall for Windsor, where he lay that Night; and the next Day continued his Journey to Salisbury, whither he came the 19th.

About this time appeared a Letter from the Prince to the King's Army, in these words.

Gentlemen and Friends,

The
Prince's
Letter to
the Eng-
lish Army.

We have in Our Declaration given you so full and so true an Account of Our Intentions in this Expedition, that We cannot doubt but that all true Englishmen will come and concur with Us in our Desire to Secure these Nations from Popery and Slavery. We are come to Preserve your Religion, and to Restore and Establish your Liberties and Properties. 'Tis plain, that you are only made use of as Instruments to Enslave the Nation, and Ruin the Protestant Religion. And, when that is done, you may judge what your selves ought to expect; both from the Casting out of all the Protestant Officers and Soldiers in Ireland; and by the Irish Souldiers being brought over to be put in your places. You know how many of your Fellow Officers have been used for their standing firm to the Protestant Religion and to the Laws of England; and you cannot flatter your selves so far as to expect to be better used, if those who have broke their Word for

ofien

often should by your means be brought out of those Straits to which they are now reduced. We hope likewise, that you will not suffer your selves to be abused by a false Notion of Honour; but that you will in the first place consider what you owe to Almighty God and your Religion, to your Country, to your selves, and to your Posterity, which You, as Men of Honour, ought to prefer to all private Considerations and Engagements whatsoever. We do therefore expect, that you will consider the Honour that is now set before you, of being the Instruments of Serving your Country, and Securing your Religion. And We will ever Remember the Service you shall do Us upon this Occasion, by placing such particular Marks of our Favour on every one of You as your Behaviour at this time shall deserve of Us, in which We will make a great Distinction of those that shall come seasonably to joyn their Arms with Ours. In short, you shall find Us to be

Your Well-wishing and Assured Friend,
William Henry Prince of Orange.

The Prince's Army began now to be in good heart, and one Man was as good as two when they came first to Exeter. Every day his Highness went out to view the Country with the Marschal de Schomberg, and went once as far as Aunry, 12 miles from Exeter. In the mean time Mr. Seymour was made Governour, and one Major Gibson Deputy-Governour. For the managing the Revenue here, the Lord Wiltshire, Mr. Herbord, and Mr. Row were appointed Commissioners.

The Prince's Court began also to swell. For, besides those great Persons which had attended his Highness from Holland hither, viz. Marschal Schomberg, Count Nassau, Count Solms, the Lords Zulestein, Benrick, and Overkirk; of the English Nation the Earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, Viscount Mordant, Lord Wiltshire, and Colonel Sidney; and of the Scotch the Earl of Argyle, with several other Persons of Quality; here came to his Highness the Lord Cornbury, the Earl of Abington, and the Lord Colchester, besides a great Number of Gentry, Who all entered together into an Association to Assist the Prince of Orange in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the People of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to in these

AN In-
gement
of the No-
bility at
Exeter to
frand by
the Prince
of Orange.

We do Ingage to Almighty God, and to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and with one another, to stick firm to this Cause, and to one another in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that We shall be no more in Danger of falling under Popery and Slavery: And, whereas we are engaged in the Common Cause under the Protection of the Prince of Orange, by which means his Person may be exposed to Danger, and to the desperate and cursed Designs of Rapists, and other bloody Men, We do therefore solemnly Ingage to God, and to one another, That, if any such Attempts be made upon Him, We will pursue not only those that made them, but all their Adherents; and all We find in Arms against Us, with the utmost Severity of just Revenge in their Ruin and Destruction; and that the Executing any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not deprive Us from pursuing the Cause which We do now undertake, but that it shall Incurage us to carry it on with all the Vigour that so barbarous an Approach shall deserve.

By this strict Association, the Prince saw how well these Noble Lords and Gentlemen were disposed towards his Highness, and for the promoting the Good of the Common Cause.

In the mean time he received Intelligence of the first Skirmish that hapned between the two Armies at Wincanton. To which Place a small Party of Major General Mackay's Regiment being advanced, to provide Carriage, Collonel Sarsfield having Notice of it marched thither with a Detachment of 70 Horse, and 30 Dragoons and Granadiers, in order to cut them off: Who, hearing of Sarsfield's Approach, resolved upon a stout Defence, notwithstanding their small Number, being but 24. In order to which, Cambel their Lieutenant, posted them in a small Inclosure at the East end of the Town, where there was a good Hedge between them and the Road. Here they made a vigorous Defence, and several were killed and wounded on both sides; when of a sudden, upon a false Alarm of a strong Party of the Prince's Horse coming, Sarsfield and his Men retreated with all speed, and in some disorder. And, tho' he had little Cause to boast of this Action, yet our Gazette did so magnifie it, that by it's Account of it 30 of the Prince's Men were killed out of 24, besides 6 taken, and 15 that made their escape.

One would think, the King by this time had done with Proclamations.

clamations. His Majesty was two to one at least as to the Number of Forces; and yet, to Ingross all to himself, he put out a Proclamation at Salisbury, Nov. 22. to Intice away all the Prince's Army, and so leave him by himself. By this Proclamation, first, *He Offers and Grants his Pardon to all his Subjects that had taken up Arms with Foreigners and Strangers against Him and their Native Country; And next, to all such Foreigners as should come over to Him, promising either to Entertain them in his Service, or Grant them (if they should desire it) freedom of Passage, and liberty to Return to the Respective Countries from whence they came.*

But this Stratagem would not do. And his Highness, having now received an Account of the Motions and Proceedings in the North for the Support of the Common Cause, prepared all Things for his March towards the King's Army. The Lords concerned in the North were the Earls of Devonshire, Stamford, and Dunby, the Lord Delamere, and others; who, being met at Nottingham with great Numbers of the Gentry, and a competent Force of Horsemen well appointed, to repel all Opposers, unanimously subscribed to this Declaration, Nov. 23. the same Day that the King put out his Proclamation.

We the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of these Northern Counties assembled together at Nottingham, for the Defence of our Laws, Religion, and Liberties, according to those Free-born Liberties and Privileges descended to Us from our Ancestors, as the Undoubted Birth-right of the Subjects of this Kingdom of England (not doubting but the Infringers and Invaders of our Rights will Represent us to the rest of the Nation in the most malicious Dress they can put upon us) do here Unanimously think it our Duty to Declare to the rest of our Protestant Fellow Subjects the Grounds of our present Undertaking.

We are by innumerable Grievances made sensible, that the very Fundamentals of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties, are about to be Rooted out by our late Jesuitical Privy Council, as has been of late too apparent.

1. By the King's Dispensing at his Pleasure with all the Established Laws. 2. By Displacing all Officers out of all Offices of Trust and Advantage, and Placing others in their Room that are Known Papists, deservedly made Incapable by the Established Laws of our Land. 3. By Destroying the Charters of most Corpora-

The Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, &c. at the Rendezvous at Nottingham.

Corporations in the Land. 4. By Discouraging all Persons that are not Papists, preferring such as run to Popery. 5. By Displacing all honest and conscientious Judges, unless they would, contrary to their Consciences, declare that to be Law which was merely Arbitrary. 6. By Branding all Men with the Name of Rebels, that but offered to justify the Laws in a Legal Cause against the Arbitrary Proceedings of the King, or any of his corrupt Ministers. 7. By Burdening the Nation with an Army, to maintain the Violation of the Rights of the Subjects. 8. By Discountenancing the Established Reformed Religion. 9. By Forbidding the Subjects the Benefit of Petitioning, and construing them Libellers; so rendering the Laws a Nose of Wax, to serve their Arbitrary Ends. And many more suchlike, too long here to enumerate.

We being thus made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government that is by the Influence of Jesuitical Counsels coming upon us, do Unanimously Declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a Condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Oppressions inevitably threaten, We will to the utmost of our Power Oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange, whom we hope God Almighty has sent to Rescue us from the Oppressions aforesaid, and will use our utmost Endeavours for the Recovery of our almost ruined Laws, Liberties, and Religion. Wherein we hope all good Protestant Subjects will with their Lives and Fortunes be Assistent to us, and not be Bug-bear'd with the Opprobrious Term of Rebels, by which they would fright us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations. For We assure our selves, that no rational and unbiass'd Person will judge in Rebellion to Defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have Sworn at their Coronation. Which Oath how well it has been observed of late We desire a Free Parliament may have the Consideration of.

We own in Rebellion to Resist a King that Governs by Law. But he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will the Law, and to Resist such a one we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence. And in this Consideration We doubt not of all honest Mens Assistance, humbly hoping for and imploring the great God's Protection, that turns the Hearts of the People as pleases him best. For it has been observed, that People can never be of one Mind without his Inspiration; which has confirm'd the Saying, Vox Populi Vox Dei.

The present Restoring of Charters, and Reversing the oppressing and unjust Judgment given of Magdalen College Fellows, is plain, and has to still the People, like Plums to Children, by deceiving them for a while. But, if they shall by this Stratagem be fooled, till the present Storm that threatens the Papists be past, as soon as they shall be Re-settled, the former Oppression will be put on with greater Vigour. But we hope in vain is the Net spread in the sight of the Birds. The Old Rule of Papists is so well known, that Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks, as they term Protestants, that the Popish Religion is the greatest Heresy. 'Tis well known how ill Q. Mary observed her Promise to the Suffolk Men that helped her to the Throne. And how the Pope Dispenses with the Breach of Oaths, Treatises, or Promises, at his Pleasure, when it makes for the Service of the Holy Church, as they term it. These are such convincing Reasons to hinder Us from giving Credit to the aforesaid Mock-shews of Redress, that We think our selves bound in Conscience to cast on no Security that shall not be approved by a Freely Elected Parliament; to whom, under God, we Refer our Cause.

To this Declaration the Northern Commonalty, sensible of the Justice of it, and Influenced besides by the Interest and Example of so many Lords and Gentlemen, did readily Subscribe; and the Militia was Raised upon it, who gave a great Stroke towards the Revolution. For the News of it coming to the Kings Ears at Salisbury, struck such a Damp upon his Spirits, that he began now to think his Case desperate.

To the same Effect was a Paper delivered from the Nobility and Gentry of the North by the Earl of Devonshire to the Mayor of Derby, where his Lordship Quarters the 21. of November; that is, for the Manner and Sitting of a Parliament freely and duly Chosen. With a declared Resolution therein, That, in case any Interruption should be given to the Proceeding of a Parliament, they, the Nobility and Gentry of the Northern Parts of England, would to their utmost Defend the Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Kingdom, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

In the County of Norfolk, the Duke who bears that Title found the Gentry and Common People in the same Disposition. Being come to Lynn, attended by many of the Principal Men in the County, he received an Address in the Market-place, presented in these Words to his Grace by the Mayor, attended by the Body, and many hundreds of the Inhabitants.

My

My Lord,

Address
of Lyn
to the
Duke of
Norfolk.

The Daily Alarms we receive, as well from Foreign as Domestic Enemies, give us just Apprehensions of the approaching Danger we conceive to be in; and make us apply our selves with all earnestness to your Grace, as our great Patron, that we may be put into such posture by your Directions and Conduct, as may make us appear as Zealous as any in the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the Laws, and Ancient Government of this Kingdom. Which is the Desire of many Hundreds, who most humbly challenge a Right of your Graces Protection.

To which his Grace was pleased to Answer thus.

Mr. Mayor,

The
Duke of
Norfolk's
Answer.

I am very much obliged to You, and the rest of your Body, and all here present, for your good Opinion of me, and the Confidence you have that I will do what in me lyes to support and defend the Laws, Liberties, and Protestant Religion, in which I will never deceive you. And, since the Coming of the Prince of Orange has given us an Opportunity to Declare for the Defence of them, I can only assure you, that no Man will venture his Life and Fortune more freely for the same than I will do, especially with all these Gentlemen here present, and many more of the same Principles. In order to which, you shall see all possible Care shall be taken to answer your Expectation.

Whereupon the Militia was ordered to be railed throughout the County. Which being thus put into a posture of Defence, his Grace was pleased to deliver himself in these Words to the said Corporation.

The
Duke of
Norfolk's
second
Speech.

I have indeavoured, as you see, to put you into the Posture you desired, by sending both for Horse and Foot of the Militia, and am very glad to see such an Appearance of this Town in so good a Condition. I do again renew my former Assurances to you, that I will ever stand by you to defend the Laws, Liberties, and the Protestant Religion; and to procure a Settlement in Church and State, in concurrence with the Lords and Gentlemen in the North, and pursuant to the Declaration of the Prince of Orange. And so God Save the King.

In short, the Genius of the whole Nation (if you except the Papists, and some false Protestants) did run that Way, and there was no stopping of so strong a Current. Which his Highness the Prince of Orange was no sooner satisfied in, but he marched

marched from *Exeter* forward with his Army; the Fort of *Plymouth* being already Surrendered to his Highness by the Earl of *Bath*. At *Exeter* he only left a new raised Regiment to keep the City, under the Command of Sir *John Guyes*, then made Governour thereof.

The Army marching in three Lines, and the Prince in the second Line, his Highness marched out from *Exeter* Nov. 22: and came to *Crook-horn* on Saturday 24. Then the Gentlemen of the West came in apace, and joined him almost at every Stage. From *Crook horn*, where he staid the 25th. he came the next Day to *Sherborn*, and lodged at the Castle; where the Duke of *Grafton* and the Lord *Churchill*, amongst others, joyned him from the King's Army. Whereupon the Lord *Churchill*, who lay under particular Obligations to the King, wrote a Letter to his Majesty in these following Terms.

S I R,

Since Men are seldom suspected of Sincerity, when they act contrary to their Interests; and, though my dutiful Behaviour to Your Majesty in the worst of Times (for which I acknowledge my poor Services much Over-paid) may not be sufficient to Incline You to a charitable Interpretation of my Actions; Yet I hope, the great Advantage I enjoy under Your Majesty, which I can never expect in any other Change of Government, may reasonably convince your Majesty and the World, that I am acted by a higher Principle, when I offer that Violence to my Inclination and Interest, as to desert Your Majesty at a time when Your Affairs seem to challenge the strictest Obedience from all your Subjects, much more from One who lies under the greatest personal Obligations imaginable to Your Majesty. This, SIR, could proceed from nothing but the Inevitable Dictates of my Conscience, and a necessary Concern for my Religion, which no good Man can oppose, and with which I am instructed nothing ought to come in Competition. Heaven knows with what partiality my dutiful Opinion of Your Majesty has hitherto represented those Unhappy Designs, which inconsiderate and self-interested Men have framed against your Majesties true Interest and the Protestant Religion. But, as I can no longer Joyn with such a pretence by Conquest, to bring them to effect, so will I always with the hazard of my Life and Fortune (so much your Majesties Due) endeavour

The
Lord
Churchills
Letter to
the King.

endeavour to preserve Your Royal Person and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern and dutiful Respect that becometh,

S I R,

*Your Majesties most Dutiful and most Obliged
Subject and Servant, CHURCHILL.*

By this Desertion the King grew more and more sensible how little he was to depend upon an Army, which daily mouldred away; Not for want of natural Affection to his Majesty, but only to bring him off from his evil Counsellors, and into a necessity of Complying with the general Desire of the Nation to have all Things Rectified by a Free and Legal Parliament

Before the King left Salisbury, there hapned such a sudden Gust of Wind as hurried down the Crown which had stood many Years upon the top of a Spire of the Cathedral. This was lookt upon as an ill Omen to the King. And so was his Majesties violent Bleeding at the Nose, that could not be stopt for a long time any manner of way.

The Vangards of both Armies being now near each other, a Party of the Prince's appeared not far from Salisbury. Upon which King James and his Army, thinking the Prince's whole Force were coming upon them, took the Alarm; so that his Majesty in the midst of his Bleeding ordered his Coach forthwith to be made ready, and drive away to Windsor. Upon whose Departure, his Forces in great haste and disorder marched, some one way, some another.

The King being come to Andover, which was his first Stage homeward, his Royal Highness Prince George of Denmark, accompanied by his Grace the Duke of Ormond, and the Lord Drumlanrig, withdrew from his Majesty in the Night, in order to joyn the Prince of Orange at Sherborn; which they did the 29th. From whence Prince George sent a most tender Letter to the King, in these following Terms.

S I R,

Prince
George his
Letter to
the King.
With a Heart full of Grief I am forced to write what Prudence would not permit me to say to your Face. And may I ever find Credit with your Majesty, and Protection from Heaven, as what I now do is free from Passion, Flattery, or Design. I am not ignorant of the frequent Mischiefs wrought in the World by factious Pretences of Religion; but, were not Religion the most justifiable Cause, it would not be made the most specious Pretence. And Your Majesty

fly has always shewn too Uninterested a Sense of Religion to doubt the just Effects of it in One whose Practices have (I hope) never given the World cause to censure his real Conviction of it, or his Backwardness to perform what his Honour and Conscience prompt him to. I can therefore no longer disguise my just Concern for that Religion in which I have been so happily Educated, which my Judgment thoroughly convinces me to be best, and for the Support of which I am so highly interested both in my Native Country and in this your Kingdom. Whilst the restless Spirits of the Enemies of the Reformed Religion, backed by the cruel Zeal and the prevailing Power of France, justly alarm and unite all the Protestant Princes of Christendom, and engage them in so vast an Expence for the Support of it, can I act so degenerate and mean a part, as to deny my Concurrence to such worthy Endeavours to disabuse Your Majesty, by the Reinforcement of those Laws, and Establishing of that Government, on which alone depends the Well-being of your Majesty, and of the Protestant Religion in Europe. This, SIR, is that irresistible and only Cause that could come in Competition with my Duty and Obligations to your Majesty, and be able to tear me from You, whilst the same affectionate Desire of Serving you continues in me. Could I secure your Person by the hazard of my Life, I should think it could not be better employ'd. And would to God these your distracted Kingdoms might yet receive that satisfactory Compliance from your Majesty in all their Justifiable Pretensions, as might upon the only sure Foundation, that of the Love and Interest of your Subjects, establish your Government, and as strongly Unite the Hearts of all your Subjects to You as is that of

S I R,

Your Majesties most Humble and most Obedient

Son and Servant.

This was a strange Time for Flight. For, whilst the King fled from Salisbury, and the Prince of Denmark from the King, the Princess also took her Flight from the Cock-pit. Her Royal Highness, then big of the Duke of Gloucester, not being able to bear the King's Displeasure upon the Princes account or her own, withdrew her self Nov. 26. early in the Morning, and went with the Ladies Churchill and Berkley, and the Lord Bishop of London, to the North, where the Forces were in Arms for the Prince of Orange. Upon which her Royal Highness left a Letter for the Queen, in these following Words.

MADAM,

The Princess of
Denmark
her Letter
to the
Queen.

'I beg Your Pardon that I am so deeply affected with the surprising News of the Prince's being gone, as not to be able to see Your Majesty. However I leave this Paper to express my humble Duty to the King and Your self, and to let You know that I am gone to Absent my self to avoid the King's Displeasure (which I am not able to bear) either against the Prince or my Self; intending to stay at so great a Distance, as not to Return, before I hear the happy News of a Reconciliation. And, as I am confident the Prince did not leave the King with any other Design, than to use all possible Means for his Majesties Preservation; so I hope You will do me the Justice to believe, that I am incapable of following him for any other End. Never was any one in such an unhappy Condition, so divided between Duty to a Father and Affection to a Husband, that I know not what to do, but to follow One to preserve the Other. I see the general Falling off of the Nobility and Gentry, who avow to have no other End than to prevail with the King to secure their Religion, which they saw so much in danger by the violent Counsels of the Priests; who, to promote their own Religion, cared not to what Dangers they exposed his Majesty. I am fully persuaded, that the Prince of Orange designs the King's Safety and Preservation, and hope all Things may be composed without more Blood-shed, by the Calling a Parliament. God grant a happy End to these Troubles, that the King's Reign may be prosperous, and that I may shortly meet You in perfect Peace and Safety. Till when, let me beg of You the Continuance of that favourable Opinion you have hitherto had of

Your Majesties most obedient Daughter and Servant ANNE.

The same Day the Princess went, the King returned to White-hall from Salisbury. Who, seeing how Things went, first turned Sir Edward Hales out of his Government of the Tower, who being a Papist had threatened to Bomb the City; and made Colonel Beville Skelton Lieutenant of the Tower, who had been a Prisoner there but a few Days before. Then his Majesty gave Order to the Lord Chancellour to Issue out Writs for summoning a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 15th. day of January next Which was a great Step towards a Reconciliation, if so be the King had really intended it. But it proved a meer Amusement. For his

Heart

Heart did beat for *Verfailles*; and the Presence of a Parliament was only to possess the People with an Opinion, that he was resolved to be Reconciled with them at any Rate, and in the mean time to Prepare himself under hand for a Retreat.

Nov. 30. He signed the Proclamation for the speedy Calling of a Parliament, and ordered it with all speed to be Published. Never was false Coin better plated, than this Proclamation was worded to amuse the People. These are the VVords.

JAMES R.

‘We have thought fit, as the best and most proper Means to
‘Establish a lasting Peace to this Our Kingdom, to Call a Parlia-
‘ment; and have therefore Ordered our Chancellour to cause
‘Writs to be Issued forth for Summoning a Parliament, to Meet
‘at *Westminster* upon the 15th. day of *January* next ensuing the
‘Date of this Our Royal Proclamation. And, that nothing may
‘be wanting on Our part towards the Freedom of Elections, as
‘We have already Restored all Cities, Towns Corporate, and
‘Boroughs throughout Our Kingdom, to their ancient Char-
‘ters, Rights, and Priviledges; so we Require and Command
‘all Persons whatsoever, that they presume not by Menace, or
‘any other undue Means, to Influence Elections, or Procure
‘the Vote of any Elector. And We do also strictly Require
‘and Command all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Offi-
‘cers, to whom the Execution or Return of any Writ, Summons,
‘Warrant, or Precept, for Members to the insuing Parliament
‘shall belong, that they cause such Writ, Summons, Warrant,
‘and Precept, to be duly Published and Executed, and Returns
‘thereupon to be fairly made, according to the true Merits of
‘such Elections.

‘And, for the security of all Persons both in their Election and
‘Service in Parliament, We do hereby Publish and Declare,
‘That all Our Subjects shall have free Liberty to Elect, and
‘all Our Peers, and such as shall be Elected Members of Our
‘House of Commons, shall have full Liberty and Freedom to
‘Serve in Parliament, Notwithstanding they have taken up Arms,
‘or committed any Act of Hostility, or been any way Aiding or
‘Assisting therein. And, for the better Assurance hereof, We
‘have Graciously directed a General Pardon to all Our Subjects,
‘to be forthwith prepared to pass Our Great Seal.

‘And, for the Reconciling all Publick Breaches, and Obliterat-
‘ing the very Memory of all past Miscarriages, We do hereby
‘Exhort

*The King's
Proclama-
tion for the
speedy call-
ing of a
Parlia-
ment.*

‘Exhort and Kindly Admonish all Our Subjects to dispose themselves to Elect such Persons for their Representatives in Parliament as may not be Biassed by Prejudice or Passion, but Qualified with Parts, Experience, and Prudence, proper for this Conjuncture, and agreeable to the Ends and Purposes of this Our Gracious Proclamation.

His Highness the Prince of *Orange*, having staid some Days at *Sherborn*, moved towards *Salisbury*, by the VVay of *Mere*. At his Entrance into *Salisbury*, which was in great State, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen in all their Formalities, the Bells ringing, the People shouting, and the whole City in a Transport of Joy at the sight of their Deliverer. His Highness rode into the City, with the Prince of *Denmark* at his right hand, and the Duke of *Ormond* on his left; and took up his Quarters at the Bishop’s Palace. Here his Highness made a Halt for some Days. VVhich the Princess of *Denmark* having notice of, she came to *Oxford*, attended by a select Troop of Country Gentlemen well Armed; where Prince *George* went to meet her Royal Highness.

All the way the Army marched, Care was taken to disperse the Prince’s Declaration; and where they hapned to Quarter upon *Sundays*, there it was read in the Churches. By this time the King’s Army was much broken, most of the Protestant Officers and Souldiers come away, and Joyned his Highnesses Forces. So that there was no Prospect of a Field-Battel.

After some Sray here the Prince came away, and marched to *Amsbury*, from thence to *Collingburn*, and so to *Littlecot*, where he came on *Saturday Decemb. 8.*

In the mean time the Lords Commissioners, viz. the Marquess of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Gedolphin*, appointed by the King to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, were come to *Hungerford*, being the Place agreed on for that purpose by the Prince. To whom a VVriting, subscribed by their Lordships, was delivered in these following VVords.

S I R,

‘The King has commanded us to acquaint you, That he ob-
 ‘serveth all the Differences and Causes of Complaint alledged by
 ‘your Highness seem to be Referred to a Free Parliament. His
 ‘Majesty, as he has already declared, was resolved before to Call
 ‘one, but thought that in the present State of Affairs it was Ad-
 ‘visable

visable to Defer it, till Things were more composed. Yet, seeing that his People still continued to desire it, he hath put forth his Proclamation in order to it, and has issued forth his Writ for Calling of it. And, to prevent any Cause of Interruption in it, he will consent to every Thing that can be reasonably required for the Security of all those that shall come to it. His Majesty has therefore sent us to attend your Highness, for the Adjusting of all Matters that shall be agreed to, necessary for the Freedom of Elections, and the Security of Sitting; and is ready immediately to enter into a Treaty, in order to it. His Majesty proposeth, that in the mean time the respective Armies may be Restrained within such Limits, and at such Distance from London, as may prevent the Apprehensions that the Parliament may in any Kind be Disturbed; being desirous, that the Meeting of it may be no longer Delay'd than it must be by the usual and necessary Forms.

In Answer to which, these following Proposals were made by the Prince, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen Assembled with his Highness.

1. That all Papists, and such Persons as were not Qualified by Law, should be Disarmed, Disbanded, and Removed from all Employments, Civil and Military.
2. That all Proclamations which Reflected upon his Highness, or any that was come over to him, or had declared for him, should be Recalled; and, if any Persons, for so doing, had been Committed, they should be forthwith set at Liberty.
3. That, for the Security and Safety of the City of London, the Custody and Government of the Tower be immediately put into the hands of the said City.
4. That, if his Majesty shall think to be at London during the Sitting of the Parliament, his Highness might be there also, with equal Number of Gards. Or, if his Majesty should rather chuse to be in any Place from London, his Highness might be at a Place of the same Distance.
5. That the Respective Armies should Remove 30 Miles from London, and no more Foreign Forces should be brought into the Kingdom.
6. That, for the Security of the City of London, and their Trade, *Tilbury-Fort* be put into the hands of the said City.
7. That to prevent the Landing of French, or other Foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* be put into such hands as by the King and Prince should be agreed upon.
8. That some sufficient Part of the Publick Revenue

‘Revenue be assigned his Highness, for the Maintaining of his Forces till the Meeting of the Parliament.

The King, upon the View of these Proposals, Resolved upon a speedy Retreat into *France*. The Prince of *Wales* so called was sent for before-hand to go thither along with the Queen, who accordingly set out *December 10*. And the next Day, early in the Morning, the King, attended by Sir *Edward Hales*, went away from *White-hall Incognito*.

Before his Departure he sent Notice of it to the Earl of *Feversham*, by a Letter framed in these Words.

MY LORD,

‘Things being come to that Extremity, that I have been forced
‘to send away the Queen and my Son the Prince of *Wales*, that
‘they might not fall into my Enemies hands (which they must
‘have done, if they had staid.) I am obliged to do the same
‘Thing, and to endeavour to Secure my self the best I can, in hopes
‘it will please God out of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation,
‘to touch their hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour.
‘If I could have relied on all my Troops, I might not have been
‘put to the Extremity I am in, and would at least have had one
‘Blow for it. But, tho I know there are many loyal and brave
‘Men amongst you both Officers and Souldiers, yet you know
‘that both your Self and several of the General Officers, and
‘others of the Army, told me, it was no ways advisable for me
‘to venture my self at their Head, or think to fight the Prince
‘of *Orange* with them. What remains is only for me to Thank
‘you, and all those both Officers and Souldiers who have stuck
‘to Me, and been truly Loyal; not doubting in the least but
‘that you will still retain the same Fidelity to Me. And, tho I
‘do not expect you should expose your selves by Resisting a
‘Foreign Army, and a *Poisoned* Nation; yet I hope your former
‘Principles are so inrooted in You, that you will keep your
‘selves free from Associations, and such pernicious Things.
‘Time presses so that I can say no more.

J. R.

The Earl of *Feversham*, upon the Receipt of the Letter, immediately dispatched a Messenger to the Prince, to let him know, That, having received a Letter from the King with the Unfortunate News of his Going out of England, and his Majesties Order (as he expresses it) to make no Opposition against
any

anybody, he thought himself obliged to acquaint his Highness, with it as soon as it was possible, to prevent Effusion of Blood; To which purpose he had given the last Order to all the Troops that were under his Command.

Before the King's Departure, several Papists foreseeing the Revolution, had withdrawn themselves beyond Sea. Now the Priests and Jesuites, who expected no Quarter, began to shift for themselves, and run some one Way, some another. Those among the Protestants who were the most Obnoxious, and had so basely comply'd with the Times, were also put to their Shifts. Some of both sorts were Apprehended; but most made their Escape, or lay Undiscovered. The Lord Chancellor *Jeffreys*, a *Mazzo-tinto* Protestant, as forward as any Papist to Comply with King *James's* Designs, was taken in a Disguise at *Wapping* Dec. 12. and committed to the Tower; where he pined away, and died some time after. The Earl of *Peterborough* being secured in *Kent*, as he was making his Escape, was also sent to the Tower.

In the mean time the Disbanded Army dispersed it self up and down the City and Country in an unusual and unwarrantable manner, to the great Disturbance of the Publick Peace and Quiet. The Mobile on the other side, taking an Advantage of this State of Anarchy, fell to work, by burning, pulling down, and otherwise defacing several Houses and publick Buildings of the Roman Catholics, rifling and plundering the same. And, without any Regard to the Character of Embassadors, they pulled down and plundered the *Spanish* Embassadors House; whose Damages were afterwards abundantly made up by the Government. Thus King *James* left his Party to the Mercy of the Rabble, whose unaccountable Outrages and Violences could not be prevented in that critical Time. Yet their Rage fell much short of what the Papists expected, considering their former Provocations; for I could not hear of any Hurt they did to their Persons. Whereas the major Part of them expected nothing less than Death and Destruction; as it had been our Fate, had our Case been their own. Which piece of Moderation from a loose, provoked, and mighty Rabble, without the Restraint of any Government, is not to be parallel'd in History.

As for the false Alarm which hapned upon it of the desperate Irish Forces Burning and Plundering, and putting to the Sword all they met in their Way, as Improbable as the Thing was in it self, yet it got such

Credited all over the Kingdom, that the whole Nation was in a ferment upon it, and all the Militia in Arms to oppose the pretended Fury of a sort of Men, which the Sound of a Horn had newly put to Flight at *Reading*, and that of an old Barrel at *Meidenhead*. But, however the Alarm was given, it was not without some Design; and, whatever was in the Top, one might easily guess, that Policy was in the Bottom. For, to imagine that four or five thousand Men should all of a sudden be grown so Desperate as to think to *Post* away this Nation with Fire and Sword, when the very sight of a less Number of resolute Men might have made them shew their Heels, was a Thing fitter to laugh at than to be concerned for.

One Thing is Observable in the King's Desertion, *viz.* the Great Seal's being cast into the *Thames*, as it was found out afterwards. Which lookt like a wilful Desertion of the Government, and an intire Abdication thereof. At least he seemed thereby to imply, that, in case he should Return, he was resolved not to Rule by Law, of which the Great Seal seems always to carry some Prints.

King *James* being thus gone, not able to bear the brunt of a Parliament, and the Writs prepared for it being stopt, made his Way by Water for *France* with all speed; till he hapned to be stopt at *Faversham* in *Kent*, as we shall see afterwards.

Upon the News of his being Gone, there was a Meeting that very Day at *Guild-hall* of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to the Number of nine and twenty; who agreed upon, and signed a Declaration. In which, having first expressed their Zealous Concern for the Nation in this dangerous Conjunction, upon the King's having Withdrawn himself in order to his Departure out of this Kingdom, they Unanimously Declared their Resolution to apply themselves to His Highness the Prince of Orange, and to Assist him with their utmost Endeavours in the speedy Obtaining of a Parliament, whereby our Laws, Liberties, and Properties might be Secured, the Church of England in particular, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dissenters, and in general the Protestant Religion and Interest over the whole world might be Supported and Encouraged. They further Declared, That in the mean time they would Endeavour to Preserve, to the utmost of their Power, the Peace and Security of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Parts adjacent; And, if any Thing more could be performed by Them, for promoting His Highnesses generous Intentions for the Publick Good: that they would be ready to do it, as Occasion should require. With which Declaration four of their Body, *viz.* the Earl of *Pembroke*, the Lord Viscount *Weymouth*, the Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpeper*, were desired to attend His Highness. Which they did accordingly.

The same day two Addresses were Agreed upon, one from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the Commons of the City of *London* in the Common Council Assembled, and another from the Lieutenant of *London*; which were both presented to his Highness at *Henly* in *Oxfordshire*, Dec. 13. with the Lords Declaration. Which Addresses, in short, contained their humble Acknowledgement of His Highnesses fervent Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and of his Unparalleled Generosity in Exposing his Person to so many Dangers

Dangers both by Sea and Land, to Rescue these Nations from Slavery and Popery; With a Declaration, that they presumed to make his Highness their Refuge, and therefore begged his Protection. And at last humbly beseeching his Highness to Repair with all convenient Speed to the Capital City, for the performing the great Work He had so happily begun.

The Prince, having now a certain Account of the King's being gone away, did put out a Declaration, *Requiring all Colonels and Commanders in Chief of the Regiments, Troops, and Companies of the Royal Army that had Dispersed themselves, to call together by Beat of Drum, or otherwise, the several Officers and Soldiers belonging to their respective Regiments, Troops, and Companies, in such Places as they should find most convenient for their Rendez-vous, and there to keep them in good Order and Discipline; And all such Officers and Soldiers forthwith to Repair to such Places as should be appointed for that purpose by their respective Colonels and Commanders in Chief; whereof His Highness required speedy Notice to be given unto Him, for his further Orders.*

The King in the mean time, who was supposed to be near the Coast of France, was unluckily stopt in a Smack nigh Faversham by some sturdy Fellows then Jesuite-hunting; and was Secured for One, till he came to be Known. Then he was prevailed upon to Return to White-hall, which he did on the 16th. Where being Informed of divers Outrages and Disorders that had been committed in his Absence, He was pleased that very Night in Council to give Orders for the preventing all such Outrages and Disorders for the future. Which proved the last Publick Act of his Regal Power.

His Highness the Prince of Orange was now come to Windsor, where he arrived on Friday Dec. 14. From whence he had sent the *Sieur de Zurlauben* to the King, who likewise sent the Earl of Faversham to his Highness to Invite him to S. James's. But his Lordship was secured in the Castle, by the Prince's Order, for his late Irregular Disbanding of the King's Forces.

Decemb. 17. In the Night the King's Gards were changed by the Prince's, then arrived at S. James's Park. Which Proceeding the Jacobites do exert claim against as a great piece of Iniquity, and look upon as unaccountable. But, as the Case stood, the Thing was unavoidable; and, as I am apt to think the King's Invitation was none of the more Cordial, so I presume this Proceeding of the Prince was not free from Reluctancy. Upon the King's Going off, the Lords Assembled at Guild hall, and the City, hath put themselves under the Prince's Protection, as being left in a State of Anarchy; and his Highness had now the Command of the King's Forces, so that it was in his power to order them as he thought most suitable to the present Juncture. Therefore it did not any way consist with his Honour to suffer this part of the said Forces to act independently from him in so critical a Time, which might have occasioned a general Disturbance and Breach of the Peace, the Keeping whereof was the principal Care of his Highness. Who clapt his Gards upon the King, not out of any Design upon his Person, but rather to Secure him from any Attempts of a rude and incensed Rabble. I would fain know what Harm befell him from this Change. It appears on the contrary by what follows, that, notwithstanding these Dutch Gards,

Gards, the King might dispose of himself as he pleased. 'Tis for this the Lord without Doors clamoured and kept a heavy Splutter in his Speech to the House of Lords: Wherein, under pretence that the King was not gone out of his Territories, and that he might be where he would in his own Kingdom, he concludes there was no Desertion in the Case. But this is perfect Shuffling. 'Tis well known, that, if he had staid, a Parliament must be had, and that he dreaded nothing more than a Parliament that would rake up old Sores, and find out who made them. 'Tis well known, that his Heart panted after the Queen, and that he had no Business at *Feverham*. The Time and Manner of his Setting out are a plain Demonstration, that he was quitting a Kingdom, which was now grown Uneasy to him; and his Casting the Great Seal into the *Thames*, adds much to the Argument. Had he but weathered the Point, and got clear off out of the River, 'tis ten to one that he had not been put to the trouble of a second Flight.

In order to which, seeing now his Case desperate, and the Prince at his Heels, he went about Noon from *White-hall Dec. 18.* to Sir *Richard Head's* high *Rockister*, still steering his Course towards *France*.

That very Day his Highness parted from *Windsor*, dined at *Sion-House*, and came in the Evening to *S. James's*. Where he received the Compliments of all the Nobility, and other Persons of the chiefest Quality in Town; And at Night the Streets were filled with Bonfires, with Ringing of Bells, and other Publick Demonstrations of Joy.

The next Day, *Decemb. 19.* Their Royal Highnesses Prince *George* and the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark* returned from *Oxford* to the Cock-pit; where they were presently after Visited by his Highness the Prince of *Orange*. Who that Afternoon went also to Visit the Queen Dowager at *Somerſet-House*.

Decemb. 20. The Lord Mayor (*Sir John Chapman*) being indisposed, the Aldermen and their Deputies, with some of the Common Council of each Ward, by Order of the Common Council, waited on the Prince of *Orange*, to Congratulate his Highness on his happy Arrival at *S. James's*. Which was performed by Sir *George Treby* the Recorder in an Eloquent Speech, and very favourably received by his Highness. The Speech was thus.

May it please Your Highness,

Sir *George Treby* his Speech from the City to the Prince of *Orange*.

The Lord Mayor being Disabled by Sickness, Your Highness is attended by the Aldermen and Commons of the Capital City of this Kingdom, deputed to congratulate Your Highness upon this great and glorious Occasion. In which we cannot but come short in Expression. Reviewing our late Danger, we remember our Church and State over-run by Popery and Arbitrary Power, and even brought to the Point of Destruction, by the Conduct of some Men (our true Invaders) who brake the Sacred Fences of our Laws, and (which was worst) the very Constitution of our Legislature. So that there was no Remedy left but the last. The only Person, under Heaven, that could apply this Remedy, was Your Highness. You are of a Nation, whose Alliance in all Times has been agreeable and prosperous to us. You are of a Family most illustrious, Benefactors to Mankind. To have the Title of Sovereign Prince, and Stadtholder, and to have worn the Imperial Crown, are among their lesser Dignities.

Dignities. They have long enjoy'd a Dignity singular and transcendent, viz. To be Champions of Almighty God, sent forth in several Ages, to Vindicate his Cause against the greatest Oppressions. To this Divine Commission our Nobles, our Gentry, and among them our brave English Souldiers, rendered themselves and their Arms upon your Appearing.

GREAT SIR, when we look back to the last Month, and contemplate the Swiftens and Falouts of our present Deliverance, astonish'd, we think it Miraculous. Your Highness, led by the Hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of the People, has preserv'd our greatest Interests. The Protestant Religion, which is Primitive Christianity restored. Our Laws, which are our ancient Title to our Lives, Liberties, and Estates, and without which this World were a Wilderness. But what Reparation can we make to Your Highness? Our Thoughts are full charg'd with Gratitude. Your Highness has a lasting Monument in the Hearts, in the Prayers, in the Praises of all good Men amongst us. And late Posterity will celebrate your ever glorious Name, till Time shall be no more.

Decemb. 1. The Prince of Orange published an Order for Returning into the Publick Store the Arms of divers Souldiers that were lost or imbezelled, since the Disbanding of the Royal Army. At the same time he appointed Quarters for the English, Scotch, and Irish Forces, to which all Officers and Souldiers belonging thereto were ordered forthwith to Repair.

Decemb. 23. Was the Day when the King, notwithstanding his Dutch Guards about him, made shift to give them the slip. So that he got safe into France, where the Queen was arriv'd before with the supposed Prince of Wales. Thus he left us again in an unsetled Condition; But Care was taken to secure the Peace.

In this Condition, had the Prince of Orange had any Design to take the Government upon him, this was the Time. He was now come to the Capital City of the Kingdom, through a perpetual Croud of Applauses and Benedictions, and had the Hearts of all true English Protestants. Being a Prince of the Royal Blood that stood so near to the Immediate Succession, and having besides a good Army with him, he had nothing to do but what he might easily have done; that is, to make a Party to support his Interest, and withstand all Opposition. The Law it self could have afforded him a Claim, it being an undoubted Maxim among Lawyers, That the Success of a Just War gives a lawful Title to that which is acquired in the Progress of it. And (as the Learned Bishop of Salisbury says in his Pastoral Letter) if at Common Law an Heir in Remainder has just Cause to Sue him that is in Possession, if he makes Waits on the Inheritance which is his in Reversion, much more ought the Heir of the Crown to Interpose, when he sees him that is in Possession hurried on blind-fold to subject an Independent Kingdom to a Foreign Jurisdiction, and thereby to Rob it of it's Glory and Security. Especially when 'tis plain, this must occasion the greatest Ruin and Miseries possible to that Kingdom; and when a pretended Heir was set up in such a manner, that the whole Kingdom believed it Spurious. In such a Case it cannot be denied, even according to the highest Principles of Passive Obedience,

ence, that another Sovereign Prince might make War on a King so abusing his Power; and that this was the Case in Fact, will not be called in question by any Protestant. Therefore King *James*, having so far sunk in the War, that he both abandoned his People and deserted the Government, all his Right and Title did accrue to the Prince in the Right of a conquest over him. So that, if he had then assumed the Crown, the Opinion of all Lawyers must have been on his side. And which Way soever King *James's* Deserting the Government be turned, this Argument has much Weight. For, if he was forced to it, then here was a Conquest; and, if it was voluntary, it was a wilful Desertion.

But, whatever Prospect His Highness might have of a Crown, either by the Sword, or the Law, or both Ways together, He chose rather to leave the Matter to the Determination of the Peers and People of *England*, chosen and Assembled together with all possible Freedom.

Mean while, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal Assembled *December 25.* in the House of Lords at *Westminster*, and at the same time the Members of the Parliaments that had served during the Reign of King *Charles 2d.* met in the House of Commons, together with the Court of Aldermen and Common-Council of *London*. Who unanimously Agreed upon a general Convention of the Lords and Commons to Meet on the 22. of *Jan.* next; and pray'd his Highness in the mean time to take upon him the Administration of Publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the disposal of the Publick Revenues, till the Meeting of the said Convention. In Order to which Meeting, He sent at their Request, and according to their Directions, His Letters throughout the Kingdom.

Then came out two Declarations from His Highness, One for Authorising Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers and Ministers (not Papists) that were in Office upon the first day of *December*, to Act in their respective Places. Another, for the better Collecting the Publick Revenue. Besides an Order, for carrying on the Elections for the intended Convention with greater Freedom, and without any Colour of Force or Restraint. His Highness also took a convenient Care to Restrain the Licentiousness of the Press within the bounds of the Law. Then He put forth a Declaration, for the better Quartering of the Forces. Another to Incurage the Sea-men of the Fleet, then labouring under Discontents, and absenting themselves, upon several untrue and groundless Reports Maliciously spread among them, and to warn them at their Peril to return to their Duty. A third, to the same purpose, for the Land Forces.

January 22. being the day appointed for the Convention to meet at *Westminster*, there they met accordingly. Where the two Speakers being chosen, viz. the Lord Marquis of *Hullifax* for the House of Lords, and *Henry Boyle Esq;* for the Commons, a Letter from the Prince of *Orange* was read in both Houses, to this effect; That he had endeavoured to perform what was desired from Him for the Publick Peace and safety during his Administration; and that it now lay on them to lay a Foundation of a firm Security for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties; That he did not doubt but by

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such a full and Free Representative of the Nation, the Ends of his Declaration would be attained. He recommended to them the dangerous Condition of Ireland, and also the States of Holland, both which required large and speedy Succours; And to'd them that, since it had pleased God to bestow his good Intentions with so great Success, he trusted in him, that he would complete his own Work, by sending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence their Course's, that so no Interruption might be given to a happy and lasting Settlement.

Whereupon the Lords and Commons unanimously resolved upon an Address to be presented to his Highness of Thanks for what he had done, and humbly to desire him to continue the Administration of Publick Affairs, till farther Application were made by them to his Highness. A Day of Publick Thanksgiving to Almighty God was likewise appointed by both Houses, for having made his Highness the Prince of Orange a Glorious Instrument of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power. And then the Lords and Commons went in a Body to St. James's, to present the fore-mentioned Address to his Highness.

The State we were in required a speedy Settling of the Government on sure and lasting Foundations; and consequently, that such Person or Persons should be immediately placed in the Throne, in whom the Nation had most reason to repose an intire Confidence. It therefore now lay upon the Convention to Make so Judicious a Choice, as in all probability might render us a happy People, and give our Posterity cause to Rejoyce, when they shall read the Proceedings of this Wise and Grand Convention.

'Tis observed that, before the Theocracy of the Jews ceased, even in the time of extraordinary Revelations, the manner of the Divine Designation of their Judges was by God's giving the People some Deliverance by the Hand of the Person, to whose Government they were appointed to submit. Thus Othniel, Gideon, Jephthah, Samson, and others, were invested by Heaven with the supreme Authority. And, tho' Joshua had an immediate Command from God to succeed Moses, and an Anointing for that purpose by the laying on of Moses hands; yet the Foundation of the Peoples Submission to him was laid in Jordan. Now what History can give an Instance, since that Theocracy ceased, of a Designation of any Person to any Government more visibly Divine than this was? To see a Nation of so various Opinions, Interests, and Factions fall suddenly from a turbulent and fluctuating State into a serene Calm, and their Minds so strangely united on a sudden, it shews from whence the Nation was Influenced. And whoever considers how the Posture of Foreign Affairs, which no humane Wisdom or Power could have brought about, made way for this Expedition; how the Prince's Counsels were all along directed, and crowned with Success, amongst so many Dangers and Difficulties, and that in so little time, and with so little Effusion of Blood, must needs see plainly the Finger of God in all this, pointing out to us what choice we were to make.

Yet various were the Projects amongst the Members of the Convention. Some were for Sending to the King, and Treating with him to Return, but under

under such Restraints as they thought it could disable him from Invading our Laws, Religion, and Liberties. But what restraint could be put upon a King who was under a Vow of Restoring Popery? The Kingly Power (one would think) was sufficiently limited by the Law, so as to preserve the Religion and Liberties of the People, under the Glory and Greatness of a King. But the Experience of King *James* his Reign shewed us sufficiently, how easy it was for a King to break through the fence of the Laws, and that they were but Cobwebs to a Prince whose Zeal or Ambition could not indure any Bounds. What Ways could be found out, so to tie up his Hands as to Secure his Subjects, but such as must make him a meer Titular King; which had been a greater Affront put upon Majesty, than downright Deposing of him? He therefore chose rather to quit the Crown, than be turned from the sweet Exercise of an Absolute Power to the State of a Baby King, to be turned and wound by his Subjects as they pleased, to observe their Dictates, and submit to their Motions.

Some were for making the Princess of *Orange* Regent; Others, the Prince. Some again were for declaring the Crown forfeited or demised, and proclaiming only the Princess of *Orange* Queen; Others, for making the Prince of *Orange* only King.

But the Plurality carried it, first for having the Government Dissolved, then making the Prince and Princess of *Orange* jointly King and Queen of *England*, &c. The publick Acts to run in the Name of Both; but the Executive Power to be solely in the King.

Thus King *James* II. for having indeavoured to Subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the Original Contract between King and People, and by Advice of Jesuites and other wicked Persons Violated the Fundamental Laws, and having at last Withdrawn himself out of this Kingdom, was Voted by the House of Commons, *to have Abdicated the Government, and the Throne to be Vacant*. And, after several Days Debates about it, the House of Lords at last fully Agreed all Things in Dispute. So that King *James*, having forfeited by his Male-Administration of the Regal Trust of the Executive Power, both in himself and his Heirs Lineal and Collateral, the same devolved back to the People; Who might lawfully dispose thereof by their Representatives, according to their good Will and Pleasure, for their future Government and Peace, Benefit and Security.

Which was a clear Assertion of the Peoples Right, a firm Evidence of a Contract broken, and a sure Precedent to all Ages; when, after a most solemn Debate, the Estates of *England* declare, That the King having Abdicated the Government, and the Throne thereby Vacant, They think fit to fill it again with One who is not Immediate in the Line. Besides that it will be a Caution to succeeding Kings, of what fatal Consequence a general Derogation from the Laws may be, when they find by this Instance the Exercise of the Kingly Office in danger, not only with Reference to Themselves, but precarious to their Family.

And now, to fill up the Throne, what better Choice could the Convention make, than of that very Prince, who with so great Expence, Hazard,

Hazard, conduct, Courage, and Generosity, had so wonderfully Rescued us both from Spiritual and Temporal Slavery, and Restored us to our ancient Laws, Religion, and Properties? In Prudence, Honour, and Gratitude, they could do no less than Pray him to Accept the Crown. Which was done accordingly.

But the Nation's Gratitude and Generosity went further, by making the Prince and Princess of *Orange* King and Queen jointly; it being a Demonstration of the Inestimable Value the People had for Her Highness, notwithstanding the Male-Administration of her Unhappy Father.

Thus the Prince and Princess were made equal in Dignity, but not in Authority. For the Executive Power was solely lodged in the Prince. First, because two Persons equal in Authority might differ in Opinion, and consequently in Command; and it is evident, no Man can serve two Masters. Secondly, because a Man, by Nature, Education, and Experience, is generally rendred more capable to Govern than a Woman. And, as the present State of *Europe* in general, so that of these Kingdoms in particular, required a vigorous and masculine Administration. To recover what was lost, to rescue what was in danger, and rectify what was amiss, could not be effected but by a Prince consummate in the Art both of Peace and War. A Prince of known Honour, profound Wisdom, undaunted Courage, and incomparable Merit; naturally inclined to be just, Merciful, and Peaceable, and to do all publick Acts of Generosity for the good of Societies. Therefore, as the Convention thought fit out of Generosity to declare the Prince and Princess King and Queen jointly, that they might both equally share the Glory of a Crown, and we the Happiness of their Auspicious Reign; so out of Prudence they lodged the Executive Power in the Prince only, as the fittest Person under Heaven to Govern in this difficult Juncture.

During these Transactions the Princess of *Orange* arrived from *Holland*, and Landed at *White-Hall* on the 12th. of *February*; the welcome News whereof was received with all manner of Publick Demonstrations of Joy.

The next Day the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at *Westminster*, presented to the Prince and Princess their Declaration, by the Marquess of *Hollifax* Speaker to the House of Lords. Which Declaration contained a Sum of the late King *James's* Trespases upon the Laws of the Kingdom and the Liberties of the People, the Vindication of the Ancient Rights and Liberties of the People by declaring his assumed Power Illegal, their Offer of the Crown to Their Highnesses, and the new Oaths to be taken, according to the late Resolves of the Grand Convention.

The Offer of the Crown, with the Settlement thereof, was thus expressed; That William and Mary Prince and Princess of *Orange*, be, and be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging; To hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions to them the said Prince and Princess, during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them; And that the sole and full Exercise of the Regal Power be only in, and executed by the said Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said Prince and Princess, during

their joynt Lives; and after their Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the said Kingdoms and Dominions to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess; and, for default of such Issue, to the Princess Ann of Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body; and, for default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of Orange.

To which his Highness gave this Gracious Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

This is certainly the greatest Proof of the Trust you have in Us that can be given, which is the Thing that makes us Value it the more; and we thankfully Accept what you have Offered. And, as I had no other Intention in coming hither, than to preserve your Religion, Laws, and Liberties; so you may be sure, that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to concur in any Thing that shall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my power to advance the Welfare of the Glory of the Nation.

Whereupon the Prince and Princess of Orange were that very Day (being the 13th. of February, 1688.) Proclaimed at White-Hall and in the City, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, by the Name of WILLIAM and MARY; each Proclamation being Echoed with Universal Acclamations of Joy by the Multitudes of People which crowded the Streets, Windows, and Balconies; and the Streets lined all the Way from Temple-Bar to the Royal-Exchange with four Regiments of the City Militia. The Night was concluded with Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and all other Expressions of Duty and Affection to Their Majesties KING WILLIAM and QUEEN MARY; with hearty Wishes for Their long and happy Reign.

April 11th. Being appointed for their Coronation, Their Majesties were accordingly Crowned that Day at Westminster, with great Pomp and Solemnity, by the Lord Bishop of London; and the Day kept with great Ceremony in most of the chief Towns of England. The Coronation Oath was tendered by the Bishop to the King and Queen, in these several Articles, Their Majesties giving a distinct Answer to each of them.

Bishop. Will you solemnly Promise and Swear to Govern the People of this Kingdom of England, and the Dominions thereto belonging, according to the Statutes agreed on in Parliament, and the Laws and Customs of the same? King and Queen. I solemnly promise so to do.

Bishop. Will you to your power cause Law and Justice in Mercy to be executed in all Your Judgments? King and Queen. I will.

Bishop. Will you to the utmost of your power Maintain the Laws of God, the true Profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by Law? And will you Preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this Realm, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all such Rights and Privileges as by Law do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them? King and Queen. All this I promise to do.

After this the King and Queen laying his and her Hand upon the Holy Gospels, said, The Things which I have here before Promised, I will Perform and Keep. So help me God. Then the King and Queen kissed the Book.

In Scotland the same Course was taken for Settling the Government there, by a Convention which met at Edenburg upon the 14th. of March, according

according to the Direction of the Prince of Orange (now King) and the Advice of several Lords and Gentlemen of Scotland then at London. Which Convention voted also King James by his Misgovernment to have forfeited the Right to the Crown, and the Throne to be Vacant. For the filling up whereof, they conferred the Crown upon WILLIAM and MARY, King and Queen of England, &c. and settled the Succession in the same manner as our Convention had done; with a new Oath of Allegiance to Their Majesties. Accordingly, on the 11th. of April 1689. being their Coronation-day at Westminster, Their Majesties were proclaimed at Edinburg King and Queen of Scotland.

The 11th. of May next ensuing, being the Day appointed for the publick Reception of the Commissioners sent up by the Estates of Scotland, (viz. the Earl of Argyle, Sir James Montgomery, and Sir John Dalrymple) to Offer the Crown of that Kingdom to their Majesties, and tender unto Them the Scottish Coronation Oath; they accordingly met at the Council Chamber at Three a Clock in the Afternoon, and were from thence conducted by Sir Charles Cotterel Master of the Ceremonies, to the Banqueting-House, being attended by most of the Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom then residing here. The King and Queen went thither attended by many Persons of Quality, the Sword being carried before them by the Lord Cardross. And, Their Majesties being placed on the Throne under a rich Canopy, the Commissioners first presented a Letter from the Estates to the King, then the Instrument of Government, after that a Paper containing the Grievances to be Redressed, and lastly an Address to his Majesty, for turning the Meeting of the said Estates into a Parliament. All which being Signed by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, as President of the Meeting, and Read to Their Majesties, the King returned to the Commissioners the following Answer.

When I engaged in this Undertaking, I had particular Regard and Consideration for Scotland; and therefore I did omit a Declaration in relation to That as well as to This Kingdom, which I intend to make good and effectual to them. I take it very kindly, that Scotland has expressed so much Confidence in and Affection to me. They shall find me willing to assist them in every Thing that concerns the Weal and Interest of that Kingdom, by making what Laws shall be necessary for the Security of their Religion, Property, and Liberty, and to ease them of what may be justly Grievous to them.

This done, the Coronation Oath was rendered to Their Majesties; which the Earl of Argyle spoke word by word distinctly, and the King and Queen repeated it after him, holding their right Hands up, after the manner of taking Oaths in Scotland. The Oath was thus. *We William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland, faithfully Promise and Swear by this our solemn Oath, in presence of the Eternal God, That during the whole Course of our Life, we will serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of our Power, according as he has required in his most Holy word revealed and contained in the New and Old Testament; and according to the same word shall Maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the Preaching of his Holy Word, and the due and right Ministration of the Sacraments now Received and Practised within the Realm of Scotland, and shall Abolish and Gainsay all false Religion contrary to the same; and shall Rule the People committed to our Charge according to the will and Command of God, revealed in his aforesaid word, and according to the laudable Laws and Constitutions received in this Realm, no ways repugnant to the said word of the Eternal God; and shall procure to the utmost of our Power to the Kirk of God and whole Christian People true*

and perfect Peace in all time coming. That we shall preserve and keep inviolate the Rights and Rents, with all just Privileges of the Crown of Scotland; neither shall we Transfer, nor Alienate the same. That we shall forbid and repress in all Estates and Degrees Reiss Oppression, and all kind of wrong; and we shall command and procure that Justice and Equity in all Judgments be kept to all Persons without exception, as the Lord and Father of Mercies shall be merciful to us. That we shall be careful to Root out all Hereticks and Enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the aforesaid Crimes, out of Our Lands and Empire of Scotland. And We faithfully Affirm the Things above-written by Our Solemn Oath.

But, at the Repeating that Clause in the Oath which relates to the Rooting out of Hereticks, the King Declared, That he did not mean by those Words, that he was under any Obligation to become a Persecutor. To which the Commissioners, Authorized thereto by the Estates of Scotland, made Answer, That neither the Meaning of the Oath, nor the Law of Scotland, did import it. Then the King replied, That he took the Oath in that sense, and called for Witnesses the Commissioners and others present. And then both Their Majesties signed the said Coanation Oath. After which the Commissioners, and several of the Scottish Nobility, kissed Their Majesties Hands.

Thus WILLIAM and MARY, Prince and Princess of Orange, were by the Grace and Providence of God, for the good of these Kingdoms, made King and Queen of Great Britain, in Opposition to all Malecontents. A Race of Men content in no Condition, who in a State of Slavery are eager for Liberty, and when set at Liberty are again for Slavery. These are the Tools hitherto made use of by King Lewis, to distract these Kingdoms (under the specious Pretence of Restoring the late King James to the Throne) by their dark Plotting here against the Government, and their open Rebellion in Scotland. Where the Duke of Gordon, Governour of Edinburg Castle, held it out for King James till the 13th. of June; and the Lord of Dundee, at the Head of an Army of Rebels, was killed in a Field-fight on the 1st. of August. From which time the Rebels there never thrived, but were glad at last to imbrace Their Majesties most Gracious Pardon.

The greatest Difficulty was to Reduce Ireland, then in the hands of Papists, fortified with a great Army, assisted by the French King, and influenced by the late King James. Who look'd upon Ireland as a Back-door for him to return into England, with a Crucifix in one hand, and a Sword in the other. Ireland, that had been so often Conquered by the English, was now to Conquer England; and the Irish did not by their Shoulds consider, whether it was for King James or King Lewis. They were pleased with the Notion of an Infalible Conquest; and, before they had drawn the Sword, they fell forsooth dividing the Spoil amongst themselves. Encouraged by King James's Prefence, now come from France to Dublin about the beginning of the Year 89, nothing was to stand before them, London-Derry, in the North of Ireland, was the only place of Note that stood out for Their Majesties. The French and Irish being resolved to reduce it by Fire, Sword, and Famine, sat before it; and brought it to that extremity, that good part of the Town was by French Bombs reduced into Ashes, and above 5000 of the Inhabitants died for want of Provisions. Yet, under these dismal Circumstances, the Town held out, under the Conduct of that Mar-

tial Clergy-Man the Reverend Dr. *walker*, till it was Relieved by a Major General *Kirk* July 31. 1689. What happened since all the World knows. The famous Battle at the River *Boyne*, fought the next Year after, is an eternal Monument of King *william's* incomparable Valour and Conduct, and of God's wonderful Providence over his Royal Person. By this Battle, wherein he was blessed with a glorious Victory, he drove King *James* with full speed out of *Ireland*, he got possession of the Capital City of *Dublin*, besides *Drogheda*, *Naxford*, *Waterford*, and other places of less note; so that two parts in three of *Ireland* were in a manner Reduced in one Campaign. Afterwards *cork* and *King's ale* were happily Recovered by the Earl of *Marlborough*. And this Years Expedition under the Chief Conduct of that Valiant, Fortunate, Wise, and Skillful General, the Baron *de Gueche*, will be eternally famous for Compleating so Successfully the Reduction of that Kingdom, by the Surrender of *Ballymore*, the Taking of *Athlone* by Storm, the great Victory at *Aghim*, the surrender of *Galloway* and *Sligo*, and at last that of *Limerick*, a Place lookt upon as almost Impregnable. So that we see now a Kingdom, which (besides its own Strength) has been powerfully Assisted by the *French*, and Countenanced by the late King *James*, intirely Reduced to their Majesties Obedience, at the end of two Campaigns. Which I hope may convince the most Obstinate, especially after a long Chain of unaccountable and unlookt for Providences, that this great Revolution is not only by the Will or Permission of Almighty God, but that it is his own Work; who is free to dispose of Crowns and Kingdoms, to shew Mercy and Judgment upon whom he pleases. And, if it be so, I cannot imagine how Intailed Kings (good or bad) can be more *de Jure Divino* than our Great King *William*.

Thus we see King *James II.* an Unfortunate Prince, who might have been a most glorious Monarch, fall'n (with the Loss of three Crowns) a Sacrifice to Priests and Jesuits; and fain to creep under the Shelter of a King, who is not like to hold out long himself, if he must give an Account to God and Men of the abominable Transactions of his Reign. Thus is the Curse of King *James I.* come upon King *James II.*, which he solemnly pronounced upon any of his Posterity that should forsake the Church of *England* to imbrace that of *Rome*. And yet, had it been possible for him to keep within some reasonable Bounds, and his Religion to himself, without trampling (as he did) upon the Laws, he might have hitherto sat upon the Throne; and 'tis like the Nation, upon his account, would have been very Indulgent to the Roman Catholick Party. But he would never be advised to Moderation, and no Counsellors were welcome to him but such as prompted him to Violence. The Issue whereof proved accordingly; *All Court, all Lose*. And 'tis observable, that, as great as King *James* was with King *Lewis*, yet the Court of *France* was allowed openly to declare his Errors to the World, and passed this Verdict upon him, *That his whole Conduct had been very little Judicious*. The Emperor on the other side could not forbear in his Letter to him dated *April 9. 1689.* amongst his tender condoling Expressions, to remind him of some of his false Politicks. I am heartily sorry for his Fate; but it is better so than to see three Kingdoms perish. I remember one of his Expressions at his first coming to the Crown, *that he would carry the Glory of England beyond*

yond all his Predecessors, which he has made good in some sense. For, by his illegal and Arbitrary Methods, he has given us an Opportunity, after some Years of tireless Passive Obedience, of shewing to the World how loth we are to part with our Laws, Religion, and Liberties, and impatient of that uneasy double Yoke, which other Nations groan under. Therefore, far from deserving the Censure of Mankind, we are applauded for it all the World over, by all disinterested, sensible, and rational Men. And, after two weak, effeminate, and inglorious Reigns, which had sunk the Reputation and Honour of this Nation, and made us all over Europe an Object of Scorn and Contempt, we have by this way of Reprisal recovered our Credit, and are now able by the Grace of God to lift up our Heads beyond their expectation.

But, if you inquire into the Causes of this sudden Change, a Nameless Author will bring you in a parcel of Jesuits, a sort of hair-brain'd statesmen, and yet bred up in a Cloyster; who being unacquainted both with the English Temper and Constitution, hoped to have carried two such things as Popery and Arbitrary Power, both at once, upon so Jealous a Nation as the English is, which hates them above any other People in the World. And yet these are the Men that bore the greatest sway in King James's Councils. I confess, says he, a Nation of less Sense might have been imposed upon; of less bravery and Valour, might have been Frighted; of a more servile Temper, might have neglected its Liberties, till it had been too late to have recovered them.

These Jesuits Manage with the Dissenters of one side, and the Church of England Party on the other, shews how shallow-brain'd they were. One would think the cruel Slaughter they had caused to be made by the Course of Justice of the poor Wretches that were taken after the Defeat of Monmouth's Army near Bridgewater, should have made them for ever despair of gaining any Credit with the Dissenters, who rarely forgive, but never forget any ill Treatment. But on the contrary they had so little sense as to build all their hopes on them, for having procured unto them a Liberty of Conscience, Arbitrarily and Illegally granted, and consequently Revocable at the Will of the Granter. Thus these little Politicos rely'd upon the Dissenters Gratitude and pretended Insensibility, as if for an uncertain Liberty of Conscience they would have sold themselves to everlasting Slavery. On the other side, if we look upon their Carriage towards the Church of England Party, it will appear how little they were to be trusted by the whole Protestant Party. First they pursued both Clergy and Laity with the utmost obloquy, hatred, oppression and contempt. But when they found the Dutch Storm coming upon them, who but the Church of England Men? Then the Bishops were presently sent for, and all Places, Presses, and flying Papers fill'd with the Encomiums of the Church of England's Loyalty; who but few days before were represented as Malecontents, if not Rebels and Traytors, for Opposing the King's Dispensing Power and the Ecclesiastical Commission.

To Compelact their Folly and Madness, they persuaded King James to Throw up the Government, and Retire into France. For they pretended we should never be able to agree amongst our selves, but would in a short time be forced to recall him, and fairly yield to his Will and Pleasure, or be compell'd to it by the Succours he might gain in France. Had

France

France been now in Peace, there might have been (says my Author) some Colour for this. But, when all *Europe* was under a Necessity to Unite against him for its own Preservation, then to persuade King *James* to desert his Throne, and fly to *France* for Succour, this was so silly a Project, that there seems to have been something of a Divine Infatuation in it. The Prince of *Orange* might have taught them *cuncta-vi*, who would not stir from *Holland*, till he saw *France* and *Germany* irrevocably Engaged in War, as it happened by the Siege of *Philipsburg*.

Thus, all Things considered, either King *James* should have staid here, and made as good Terms as he could with the Prince of *Orange* and his own Subjects. Or, if he would Abandon his Kingdoms, he ought to have despaired of any Restitution, and betaken himself to a private Life, as Queen *Christina* did.

THE POSTSCRIPT,

By Way of Advice to the Jacobite Party.

NOW *Ireland* is Reduced, and the *Scotch* Rebellions Suppressed, 'tis high Time for you, Gentlemen, to Capitulate. Providence has declared it self against you; your Idol the *French* King's Oracles are ceased, and he has now at last most basely left you in the lurch. In short, there is no hopes or prospect of Relief. You have done enough in Conscience, and more than enough, for King *James*. You have out-done not only your Ancestors, but Primitive Christianity it self, in your fond Scruple of Conscience about the Oaths; and have evidenced to the World, how Impossible it is to serve two Masters. Only some of you went too far, and made shift for King *James*'s Service to swear themselves true Subjects to King *William*, and Queen *Mary* too. To bring back King *James* with Popery Triumphant, you have stuck at nothing; and have over come even Nature it self, by putting your selves under a King's Protection, who ever was an Enemy to this Crown and Nation. I mean the great King *Levis*, whose Quarrel you espoused, whose Greatness you admired, whose Successes you applauded too. A Most Christian King, in League with *Turks* and *Tartars* (now become your Confederates) against the Professors of the Name of *Christ*. A Prince who has a great Account to give to God and Men of his infinite Extortions, Rapines, Violences, Breach of Faith, Bloodshed, and Persecutions. With this great Tyrant, Usurper, and Persecutor, you have endeavoured to Overthrow the present Government, by dark Plots and Conspiracies, by bold Speeches and virulent Libels, by filling the Nation with Fears and Jealousies. But that which I chiefly admire you for, is your Withstanding all Temptations of Plenty, Ease, and Liberty, to become miserable Slaves, even for Conscience sake. Your being proof against the strongest Arguments of the best Pens of the Nation, which could never make the least Impression upon you. To which add your fervent (but ineffectual) Prayers and Supplications to God, for a Blessing upon your usual Endeavours; and, if they have not prospered, 'tis not your Fault.

In a Word, so transcendent and meritorious has been your Loyalty to the late King James, that no Age can parallel it. So great, that, like Solomon's Wisdom, never was the like before it, nor I hope will ever be after. So desperate, that it made you willing to Sacrifice your Lives and Fortunes, your Liberty, Nation, Posterity, and some of you their Religion, only to have the Satisfaction to sing *Allulajah* at the Return of King James.

All this was well enough, according to your Principles, as long as *Liverick* held out. But now the Case is altered, and it is time to Desist. King James his Back-door is shut; and the Great King having now withdrawn his powerful Arm, 'tis in vain for you to hold out. I advise you therefore to Surrender, while it is time, to Their Majesties Mercy; and to become Their true and faithful Subjects, under whose easy Scepter you may live happily.

Thus you will be no more lookt upon as you have been hitherto, with Pity, Scorn, and Indignation. With Pity, as being Misguided by an erroneous Principle. With Scorn, for the greatest Insatiation that Men were ever guilty of, to stand for Slavery when you are Free, as you wished for Perverseance when you were in Captivity. With Indignation, as being the Bane of the Government, under whose Protection you live.

When all is done, you cannot but grant, that the King is none of those frightful Princes that you took him to be, from the Lords Speech without Doors, and others of his Kidney. Nor have we felt in the space of almost three Years any of those direful Influences of his Reign, which those unlucky Fortune-tellers did once threaten us with. He is a merciful King; You have experienced it. A Wife and Warlike Prince; *Frank* it self does own it. So great is his Fame and Interest Abroad, that He is in a manner the Oracle of most Christian Princes, and the most likely King we have had since *Henry V.* to make this Nation both Glorious and Happy. As he is a Pattern for Princes in point of Government, so in the Course of a Christian Life, he is a Pattern for Subjects; being both Good and Great, and therefore the fittest Monarch to make this Nation so. After so many effeminate and inglorious Reigns, what greater Blessing could Heavens bestow upon us than a Prince so well qualified to Reign in these Kingdoms? This is not all. It has pleased God to redouble our Happiness, by setting over us, in Conjunction with his Majesty, a Queen who is the Glory of her Sex, and a Princess alone worthy of so great a Prince. Let us therefore be Unanimous, and say with one Voice,

God Save and Prosper King William and Queen Mary.

An Advertisement of some Books sold by Samuel Clement at the Lute in Paul's-Church-Yard.

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